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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF CLIENT ALIENATION IN
THE BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION

BY

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "An Empirical Study of Client Alienation in the Bureaucratic Organization," submitted by Henry Kolesar in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to test hypotheses predicting the degree of alienation of pupil clients in different types of bureaucratic high schools.

Twenty Alberta high schools were selected for study. The School Organizational Inventory was administered to a total of four hundred three teachers in these twenty schools. On the basis of the responses of these teachers to items in the Inventory four types of bureaucratic schools were identified. These four were monocratic, punishment-centered, collegial or representative, and mock. The Pupil Attitude Questionnaire, a scale designed as part of this study to measure the degree of pupil alienation from the school, was administered to more than seventeen hundred pupils in twelve of the original sample of twenty high schools. This scale provided scores on five dimensions of alienation: powerlessness, self-estrangement, normlessness, meaninglessness, and isolation, and also a total score obtained by combining scores on the dimensions.

Schools were found to differ significantly in type of bureaucratic structure. Within the rather strict restrictions imposed, five schools were identified as representing pure types.

Significant differences in the degree of pupil alienation from the school were found consistently on the

powerlessness dimension and on total scale scores.

Differences on the other dimensions of alienation were found among some groups of schools but not among others.

Pupil powerlessness and total scale scores were found to be significantly higher in punishment-centered than in representative bureaucracies.

Pupil powerlessness and total scale scores were found to be significantly higher in schools in which the authority dimension of bureaucracy was emphasized than in schools in which it was de-emphasized.

Pupil powerlessness and total scale scores were found to be significantly lower in the representative than in either the punishment-centered or monocratic bureaucracies.

The findings of this research strongly support the conclusions that schools differ in bureaucratic type and that the degree of pupil alienation also differs significantly on the powerlessness dimension and in the combination of dimensions in association with differences in school structure.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

I. INTRODUCTION

Currently the study of school administration is to a large extent the study of organization theory. Organization theory is concerned with the explanation of relationships which occur among members of groups of people possessing some common objectives, existing within a total system, and consciously pursuing through differentiation of function but collectivity of effort, their identified goals.

The high school is a publicly created and supported organization operating within the social system of the community. It possesses stated purposes and an identity characterized by both concrete and theoretical elements. Concrete elements include an administrative hierarchy, a professional teaching staff, courses of study, facilities, and equipment. Somewhat more intangible elements include the relationships between the school and the community, between administration and staff, and between staff and pupil clients. The purpose of this study was to examine some bureaucratic aspects of the school as an organization, and the accompanying pupil attitudes toward the school and toward activities and values promoted by the school.

The theory to be developed and tested in the following chapter will parallel the concept that Argyris calls "an incongruency between the needs of a mature personality and of formal organization."¹ It will be hypothesized that in schools which are perceived by teachers to be monocratic or punishment-centered bureaucracies will be found pupils who are more highly alienated than are pupils who attend schools which are perceived by teachers to be representative bureaucracies.

To a considerable degree this study may be considered exploratory in nature. The use of the bureaucratic model in the study of schools can be found in a relatively small number of research reports. The study of individual alienation in the organizational context similarly has had limited attention. Finally, examination of the attitudes of clients toward organizations, although often alluded to in the literature, has received few empirical tests. Evidence to support these observations will be provided in the sections which follow.

II. THE ORGANIZATION

A social organization is a continuing system of differentiated and coordinated human activities utilizing, transforming, welding

¹Chris Argyris, "The Individual and Organization: Some Problems of Mutual Adjustment," Administrative Science Quarterly, II (June, 1957), 18.

together a specific set of human, material, capital, ideational, and natural resources into a unique problem solving whole engaged in satisfying particular human needs in interaction with other systems of human activities and resources in the environment.²

Key elements in this definition include the participation of persons, a continuing relationship, coordination of differentiated activities, activities involving the transformation of some resources, and interaction with other organizations.³

When applied to the school the elements of the definition refer to real components of an existing structure. Active participants in school operation are administrators, teachers, and pupils. Participating at other levels are members of school boards, central administrative staff personnel, parents, and the members of other organizations which interact with the school and with individuals in the school.

²E. Wight Bakke, "Concept of Social Organization," Modern Organization Theory, Mason Haire, editor (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957), p. 37.

³Bakke's definition is similar to the definitions presented by several authors. See Chris Argyris "Understanding Behavior in Organizations: One Viewpoint," in Modern Organization Theory, Mason Haire, editor (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1959), p. 25; Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 2, 3; Joseph A. Litterer, Organizations: Structure and Behavior (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963), p. 5; Chester I. Barnard, "Formal Organizations," Organizations: Structure and Behavior, Joseph A. Litterer, editor (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963), p. 50. This type of definition is also implied in James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958), p. 1.

Differentiated activities occur in the school to provide more adequately for the needs of the clientele, and to contribute to the most efficient utilization of the abilities and the skills of the members of the participant group. The division of curriculum into subject areas and the offering of varied programs are two examples of this differentiation.

Coordination of school activities is achieved by an administrative and supervisory staff working in a variety of ways with the teaching staff and with other relevant persons. The result of this coordination of the differentiated activities is a contribution to the acculturation of youth. For a large proportion of high school youth completion of the high school program results in the achievement of requirements for admission to the next higher learning institution. For many of the remainder, graduation is followed by entrance into employment and the assumption of the accompanying responsibilities.

In the high school the natural resource to be transformed is the pupil whose transformation has already been influenced by his previous school attendance and by the other organizations in which he has participated or with which he has had contact. Generally, the contribution of the high school to the sequence of pupil development is viewed very favorably by the educational units preceding and following it, and also by the various publics served.

Interaction occurs between the high school and other social organizations in both the public and the private sector. Obvious examples of this interaction are evidenced in the sequential coordination of activities with pre- and post-secondary institutions, and in the articulation of curriculum with the requirements of business and industrial organizations.

As a social organization the high school possesses the attributes required by Bakke's definition.

III. ORGANIZATIONAL BUREAUCRACY

The bureaucratic model is one of a number of models which may be used as a guide for the examination of organizational structure and function. The basic model used in this study was a six-dimensional bureaucratic model developed by R. H. Hall. It emphasizes:

- (1) a well-defined hierarchy of authority;
- (2) a division of labor based upon functional specialization;
- (3) a system of rules covering the rights and duties of positional incumbents;
- (4) a system of procedures for dealing with work situations;
- (5) impersonality of interpersonal relationships;
- (6) selection for employment and promotion based

upon technical competence.⁴

An assumption implicit in this model affirms that each dimension represents a continuum along which a social organization can be placed, thus allowing bureaucratic categorization of organizations.⁵ It is therefore possible to acknowledge that with respect to these dimensions a social system may become bureaucratized or debureaucratized.⁶

The applicability of this model can be easily demonstrated. In the high school three levels of authority are readily distinguishable: the administration, the teaching staff, and the pupils. Ideally, if not always in practice, labor is divided among participants on the basis of functional specialization. The rights and duties of positional incumbents are defined by tradition, and in many cases, are supported by policy statements at the school and the district levels. The procedures to be used in classroom instruction and in other aspects of the work situation similarly are defined by tradition and in various documents such as curriculum guides, resource units, and teaching guides accompanying many centrally authorized textbooks. The school day is planned by the administration to meet requirements imposed by a provincial authority. The

⁴Richard H. Hall, "Interorganizational Structural Variation: Application of the Bureaucratic Model," Administrative Science Quarterly, VII (1962-63), 298.

⁵Ibid., p. 297.

⁶Blau and Scott, op. cit., p. 232.

impersonality of superior-subordinate relationships in schools is based upon the equalitarian premise that all persons of equal status in the organization deserve equal treatment. Finally, employment as a high school teacher requires the prerequisite of an approved training period followed by provincial or state certification. Certification is the guarantee of minimal competence for service in the classroom. Generally, promotion to positions in the hierarchy other than classroom teaching is based upon some assessment of the work of teachers by principals and others.

Each of the six dimensions of Hall's model is evident in the organizational structure of high schools.

IV. ALIENATION

Contemporary usage of the alienation concept is examined by Kurt Lang in The Dictionary of the Social Sciences. Relevant parts of his discussion, quoted below, provide an introduction to the discussion which will follow in a later section:

Alienation as most generally used in social science, denotes an estrangement or separation between parts or the whole of the personality and significant aspects of the world of experience.

1. Within this general denotation the term may refer to (a) an objective state of estrangement or separation; (b) the state of feeling of the estranged personality; (c) a motivational state tending toward estrangement.

2. The separation denoted by the term may be between (a) the self and the objective world, (b) the self and aspects of the self that have become separated and placed over against the self, e.g. alienated labour; (c) the self and the self.⁷

Organizational and social alienation involves a usage which:

... views alienation as the state of or the result of conformity with institutional expectations in segmented roles, where the performance of specialized functions, determined by the division of labor and the system of dominance of certain groups, deprives the total personality of opportunities to exercise substantively rational judgment and thereby to apply its creative powers in influencing the conditions of its own existence.⁸

He suggests further that the term refers to the "malaise that results from such a state."⁹

The alienation concept is not of recent origin. Among the Greeks the term possessed various meanings including the immersion of the soul in the divine. During the middle ages alienation was seen as the divine transfiguration of the mind beyond its own boundaries. Hegel redirected the connotation of alienation from transfiguration of the mind to defiance within the mind of a substantive identity which can be technically defined. Marx interpreted alienation as degradation, a perversion of the human position in which the human becomes a property.¹⁰ For Marx alienation implied being at odds with some

⁷Julius Gould and William L. Kolb (eds.), A Dictionary of the Social Sciences (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 19, 20.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Nathan Rotenstreich, "On the Ecstatic Sources of the Concept of 'Alienation'," Review of Metaphysics, XVI (March, 1963), 550-555.

reference. The reference might be the establishment, the culture, the community, the career, the fellowman, and the self.¹¹ Marx saw man under the compulsion of another man as a result of the capitalist property system and money. Man was seen to lose control of the process of work and the product. Simmel described alienation as an outcome of the conflict between man's creativity and the pressures of social organizations. This interpretation was reaffirmed by Weber who saw the individual as being of little consequence in the large bureaucracy.¹² In summary, the most frequently accepted current connotation of alienation is a real or imagined estrangement, or tendency toward estrangement by the individual from the objective world, or from parts of or the total self. Alienation in the social context may be viewed as a resultant of the effects of certain organizational characteristics upon the individual.

V. CLIENTS

Clients of a formal organization are drawn from the public which is served. Blau and Scott present a succinct description of the relationship between the formal organization and its publics.

¹¹J. L. Simmons, "Liberalism, Alienation and Personal Disturbance," Sociology and Social Research, XLIX (January, 1965), 457.

¹²Daniel Bell, "The Rediscovery of Alienation," The Journal of Philosophy, LVI (November, 1959), 933-952.

There is the larger society which permits the organization to operate.... There is the population of the society in its capacity as a pool of potential members. There are the other organizations with whom (which) the organization competes, cooperates, or enters into various exchange relationships. There are, finally, two special publics which should be distinguished: the public-in-contact, with whom (which) or on whom (which) the organization's members work, and the public served. Only in service organizations are the two identical, constituting the clientele - recipients of public welfare, students, or patients are both worked with and served by the organization.¹³

Since every organization is in some way dependent upon a clientele the relationship between the organization and its publics is fundamentally significant. The investigation of this relationship has been negligible.¹⁴ Therefore, "we ... know something about the orientations of officials to clients, whereas we know little of the orientations of clients to officials and organizations."¹⁵

In discussing the client relationship with the members of the organization, March and Simon state that rigidity in the behavior of participants resulting from adherence to rules and specification "increases the amount of difficulty with clients of the organization and complicates the achievement of client satisfaction...."¹⁶ This difficulty is further increased by

¹³Blau and Scott, op. cit., p. 59.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 74.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁶March and Simon, op. cit., p. 39.

the extent of the use of the trappings of authority. It is further suggested that this process in bureaucratic organizations may be extremely difficult to improve.¹⁷

The relationships among members and between members and clients in the organization resulting from an emphasis on rules and authority is diagrammatically illustrated in Figure 1.¹⁸ These relationships are such that a high demand within the organization for control causes undue client dissatisfaction and complaint which in turn is likely to result in the increased demand for control in the bureaucratic hierarchy. This cycle is likely to continue until some compromise is reached or until organizational disintegration occurs following a lack of client support.¹⁹

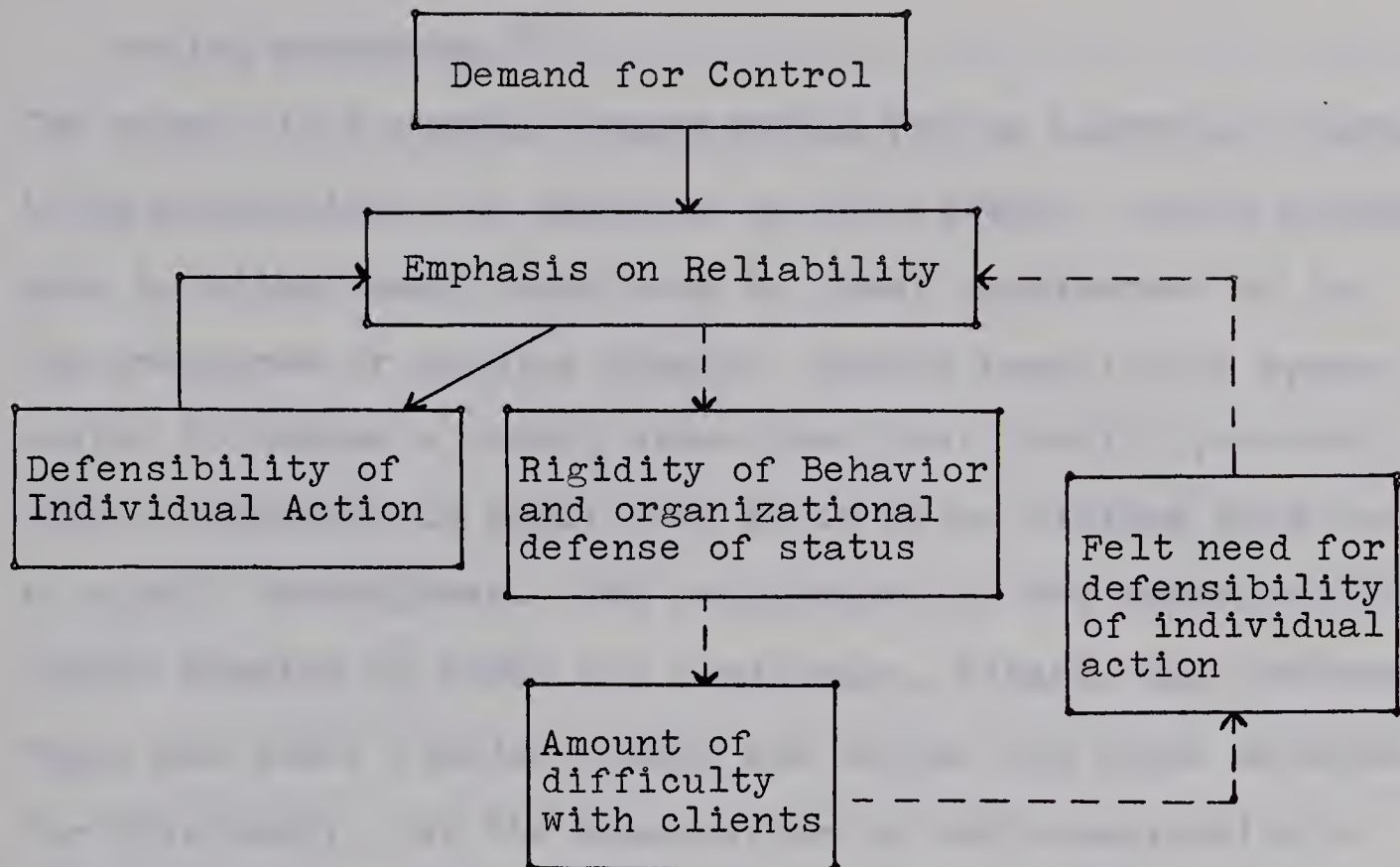
Of some significance to the relationship between the client and the bureaucratic organization in the context which is to follow is the nature of the dependence of the organization on external resources and power. This relationship and its effects upon structural characteristics of the bureaucracy are described by Eisenstadt as dependent upon the following:

1. The chief function of the organization, i.e., whether it is service, market, or membership recruitment agency.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 40.



_____ Intended Results

----- Unintended Results

FIGURE 1

DYSFUNCTIONS OF BUREAUCRACY

2. The extent to which its clientele is entirely dependent upon its products, or conversely, the type and extent of competition between it and parallel agencies.

3. The nature and extent of the internal (ownership) and external control.

4. The criteria used to measure the success of the organization as such and its members' performance, especially the extent of changes in behavior and membership affiliation of its clients

5. The spheres of life of its personnel that the activities of a given bureaucratic organi-

zation encompass.²⁰

The school is a service organization yet in almost all cases it is monopolistic in relation to its clients. Pupil attendance is either made compulsory by legal requirement or by the pressures of popular demand. Pupils have little opportunity to choose a school other than that locally provided. School ownership is public yet it is often claimed that control is highly centralized. The measurement of the success of the school remains an issue for conjecture, debate, and controversy. These and other similar issues are beyond the scope selected for this study, yet the examination of the organization -- client relationship may have implications for future decisions regarding each.

The relationship between the clients and the organization has been shown to be subject to variability. It seems likely that the structure of the organization carries significant implications relative to the attitudes and the behavior of the clients, and the converse is also likely to be true.

VI. PROBLEMS AND HYPOTHESES

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the degree of client alienation in organizations varying in degree and type of bureaucratization. The organizations studied were public high schools whose clients were the pupils.

²⁰S. N. Eisenstadt, "Bureaucracy, Bureaucratization, and Debureaucratization," Complex Organizations, Amitai Etzioni, editor (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1962), p. 273.

The major hypothesis tested was whether or not pupils were more highly alienated in certain types of bureaucratic schools than in other types. Specific problems and hypotheses are presented below.²¹

Problem 1. To determine whether or not there are significant differences among schools in type of bureaucratic structure.

Hypothesis 1. Schools differ significantly in type of bureaucratic structure.

Six dimensions of bureaucracy were examined: hierarchy of authority, specialization, rules for members, procedural specification, impersonality, and technical competence. MacKay has demonstrated that schools differ significantly in their total scores on bureaucracy as measured by a scale called the School Organization Inventory, and that schools differ significantly in their scores on each of the subscales. The one exception in his study was on the scale described as measuring technical competence.²² A study by Robinson demonstrated a high significant overall difference between schools on each of

²¹Originally it was proposed to consider only differences in degree of bureaucratization. Problems encountered in the measurement of bureaucracy as described in Chapter III of this report necessitated the change of emphasis from degree of bureaucratization to type of bureaucracy. Since types are defined in terms of degree on two separate dimensions, the consequences of the change were not extensive.

²²D. A. MacKay, "An Empirical Study of Bureaucratic Dimensions and their Relation to Other Characteristics of School Organizations" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1964), Table XVIII, p. 86.

the six dimensions.²³ In addition the Robinson study demonstrated significant differences on the dimensions between different types of schools.²⁴

In this study the subscales were combined with hierarchy of authority, rules for members, procedural specification, and impersonality, combined to form one major dimension, and specialization and technical competence combined to form a second. Reasons for this combination are presented in a later chapter.

Problem 2. To determine whether or not there are significant differences in the degree of pupil alienation from the school on each of the dimensions and in total among schools of different types.

Hypothesis 2. The degree of pupil alienation from the school differs significantly on each dimension and in total among schools of different bureaucratic types.

Five dimensions of alienation were studied: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. A review of previous studies indicated that individuals in different situations varied in their degree of alienation on each of these dimensions.

²³Norman Robinson, "A Study of the Professional Role Orientations of Teachers and Principals and Their Relationship to Bureaucratic Characteristics of School Organizations" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1966), p. 120.

²⁴Ibid., p. 124.

Problem 3. To determine whether or not pupil alienation is significantly higher among pupils in some types of bureaucratic schools than in other types.

Hypothesis 3.0. Pupil alienation is significantly higher on each dimension and in total in schools identified as punishment-centered than in representative bureaucracies.

Hypothesis 3.1. Pupil alienation is significantly higher on each dimension and in total in schools in which the authority dimension of bureaucratic structure is emphasized than in schools in which this dimension is de-emphasized.

Hypothesis 3.2. Pupil alienation is significantly low on each dimension and in total in those schools categorized as representative or collegial bureaucracies.

VII. IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

As the most important natural resource, pupils deserve the ultimate in opportunities for maximum realization of potential. Research must demonstrate the conditions under which this potential can best be achieved. Since much of this development occurs in the organizational context of the school, a relevant focus for research is the organizational structure of the school and the pupil attitudes which accompany different structures.

Research in the area of organization-client relationships has been negligible.²⁵ Since every social organization

²⁵Supra. pp. 10, 11.

exists to fulfill in some way the needs or desires of human clients, additional study of the relationships which result between particular organizational forms and client attitudes toward organizations should be highly significant. Few organizations provide a setting as favorable as that provided by the school for the study of these relationships.

The development of a reliable and valid scale for the measurement of pupil alienation was another task accomplished in this study. Future research in the area of individual and group alienation toward the school should be significantly assisted by the availability and the ease of administration of the scale.

VIII. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter II presents a more detailed discussion of the theory relative to bureaucracy, to alienation, and to the relationships which exist between the two. Relevant research studies are reviewed. In Chapter III the problems and hypotheses are restated and information relative to the procedures employed in collecting and analyzing data is presented. Chapters IV and V are devoted to reporting and discussing the analysis of the data. Finally, Chapter VI contains a summary of the study with implications for practice and for further research.

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VIII. ORGANIZATION OF THE THREATS

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CHAPTER II

ORIGIN OF THE PROBLEMS

I. BUREAUCRACY

Weberian Bureaucracy

Max Weber describes two major types of bureaucratic organizations, the monocratic type and the collegial type. In the monocratic type the administrative staff operates under a supreme authority. Staff members are appointed and they function under specified criteria as follows:

1. They are personally free and subject to authority only with respect to their impersonal official obligations.
2. They are organized in a clearly defined hierarchy of offices.
3. Each office has a clearly defined sphere of competence in the legal sense.
4. The office is filled by a free contractual relationship.
5. Candidates are selected on the basis of technical qualifications. In the most rational case, this is tested by examination or guaranteed by diplomas certifying technical training, or both. They are appointed, not elected.
6. They are remunerated by fixed salaries in money, for the most part with a right to pensions.
7. The office is treated as the sole, or at least the primary, occupation of the incumbent.
8. It constitutes a career. There is a system of 'promotion' according to seniority or achievement, or both. Promotion is dependent on the judgment of superiors.

9. The official works entirely separated from the ownership of the means of administration and without appropriation of his position.

10. He is subject to strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of his office.¹

Weber maintains that the monocratic type of organization

... is, from a purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency and is in this sense formally the most rational known means of carrying out imperative control over human beings. It is superior to any other form in precision, in stability, in the stringency of its discipline, and in its reliability.²

The collegial type of bureaucracy is different from the monocratic type mainly with respect to the limitation of the authority of the supreme head of the bureaucracy and of the officers within the bureaucratic hierarchy. Weber observes that authority may be required in a variety of ways to be collegial in character.

1. It may be that alongside the monocratic holders of governing powers there are other monocratic authorities which, by tradition or legislation, are in a position to delay or to veto the acts of the first authority.

2. The acts of an authority must be carried out only after previous consultation and a vote. That is, their acts are subject to the rule that a plurality of individuals must cooperate for the act to be valid.

¹Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1947), pp. 333-334.

²Ibid., p. 337.

3. A plurality of monocratic officials exists, each of whom has equal authority, without specification of function.

4. Although there is a monocratic authority, his acts are subject to consultation with formally equal members, and disagreement in important matters may lead to breaking up the collegial body by resignation, thus endangering the position of the monocratic chief.

5. A body whose functions are formally only advisory is attached to a monocratic leader. Although he is not formally bound to follow their advice, if his policies fail, the failure is attributed to his neglect of the advice of the advisory body.

6. In an organization in which the collegial body is composed of individuals with specified functions, the advice of an expert member or members is sought, followed by a decision by vote of the body as a whole.

7. The advisory body may consist of members with specified functions. This situation is related to several previously described situations.

8. The highest authority in the organization may be subject to the collegial principles described above.

9. Where the bureaucratic chief must work with established groups, these groups may provide the collegial body, causing the monocratic authority to compromise his position.

10. Collegial bodies may have been formed out of a plurality of organized groups which were previously autonomous.³

In summarizing, his discussion of collegiality in the bureaucracy Weber states that:

On the one hand it (collegiality) has involved a plurality of incumbents of the same office, or a number of persons in offices whose spheres of

³Ibid., pp. 392-398.

authority were directly competing, each with a mutual power of veto.... The second main type has been that involving collegial decision. In such cases an administrative act is only legitimate when it has been produced by the cooperation of a plurality of people according to the principle of unanimity or of majority.... It (the bureaucracy) may involve collegiality in the supreme command and so in the direct exercise of authority, only in subordinate functions, or finally, in bodies with an advisory function.⁴

Thus, the collegial bureaucracy possesses the essential features of the monocratic bureaucracy with the exception that the authority of the supreme head and of office holders is subject to some influence external to that office, although not necessarily external to the organization.

Comments on Weber's Bureaucratic Model. Various authors present reservations regarding the applicability of Weber's theory. Friedrich comments upon the possibility of irrationality as well as rationality being involved in decision-making procedures, and the normative element which may support, but may also contradict the governance of participant behavior by bureaucratic rules.⁵ Gouldner is critical of Weber's thesis that bureaucracy has existed in the same form regardless of differences in the social context of which it is a part. He suggests that there definitely are variations in bureaucratic

⁴Ibid., pp. 399-400. (Words in parentheses added.)

⁵Carl J. Friederich, "Some Observations on Weber's Analysis of Bureaucracy," Reader in Bureaucracy, Robert K. Merton, et al., editors. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1952), pp. 27 ff.

forms resulting from the influences of a variety of factors.⁶ According to Blau and Scott the model does not include the pattern of informal relations and the accompanying unofficial behaviors which tend to develop within bureaucracies. These authors question the assumption that administration based upon expertise and administration based upon discipline are the same thing. Empirical support is provided for this rejection.⁷

Despite these criticisms the model has been used quite extensively as a guide in the study of organizations. Blau and Scott concede that the structural elements which constitute the bureaucracy provide a useful framework for organizational analysis. They specifically recommend the study of the interrelationship of bureaucratic characteristics and the dysfunctions of bureaucratic elements. Suggested interrelationships include: specialization and expertness; authority, rules and coordination; impersonality and rationality. Dysfunctions are unanticipated consequences which may result from rationally planned and directed activities.⁸

Recommended Alternatives. Weber's theory of bureaucracy suggests two major types categorized on the basis of authority

⁶Alvin Gouldner, "On Weber's Analysis of Bureaucratic Rules," Reader in Bureaucracy, Robert K. Merton, et al., editors. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1952), pp. 48 ff.

⁷Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 33-36.

⁸Ibid.

relationships. Gouldner identifies three types of bureaucracy: mock, representative, and punishment-centered.

In a mock bureaucracy many aspects of the ideal bureaucracy are present but they are ignored and are inoperative. Participants see officers as being indulgent and consequently being lenient or good. Gouldner says that "mock bureaucracy refers to the kind of social relations that emerge if the norms of the indulgency pattern are administratively implemented."⁹

The second type, representative bureaucracy, is characterized by "(1) a high degree of bureaucratic striving on management's part, and (2) a low degree of resistance to bureaucratic administration among the workers."¹⁰ In this type participant values are reinforced by bureaucratic characteristics in that procedures governed by rules are seen to be desirable; procedures are enforced in a manner acceptable to participants; they are status reinforcing; they are seen as being utilitarian to superiors. This type results when rules are enforced by superiors and are obeyed by participants; participant adherence to rules is obtained by education rather than by coercion; and the procedures involved generate few tensions and little conflict between superiors and participants.¹¹

⁹Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 186, 187.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 189, 190.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 191-207.

Although not identical, Gouldner's representative bureaucracy and Weber's collegial bureaucracy contain similar elements. This will be especially true if collegiality results from the influence of expert participants upon the decisions of bureaucratic office holders. In an organization, if superiors provide to participants concessions Gouldner describes, the result will be a collegial bureaucracy. Gouldner's representative bureaucracy may therefore be considered one form of collegial bureaucracy. Since in this bureaucratic form the status of participants will be reinforced, they will perceive emphasis upon expertise to be high, but emphasis upon authority low even though there is a high degree of bureaucratic striving on the part of superiors.

Gouldner's third bureaucratic type is called punishment-centered. It involves two sub-patterns, one in which superiors utilize punishments against participants, and the second in which workers inflict punishments against their superiors.¹² He suggests that this type is characterized by the following features:

1. The rules about which the pattern is organized are enforced, but primarily by one group, either workers or management, rather than by both.

2. Adjustment to the rules is not attained by ignoring them, nor by "educating" the deviant or involving him in the rule's administration, but by punishing him.

¹²Ibid., p. 207.

3. The pattern is associated with considerable conflict and tension.¹³

The division of the punishment-centered type into the sub-patterns which Gouldner suggests does not seem realistic. It is difficult to consider that either sub-pattern could exist independently from the other over a significant time span. It is highly likely that retaliation in some form would be the consequence of punishment by either superiors or participants. As an alternative it is suggested that Weber's monocratic type be considered as one form of the punishment-centered bureaucracy. In this form participants would perceive themselves to be high in expertise, yet subordinate in authority to what they perceive to be a high emphasis in the organization upon a monocratic authority relationship. It is further proposed that the term punishment-centered be reserved to describe the organization in which the quality of expertise with respect to the task achievement of participants be perceived by both superiors and participants to be low, but emphasis upon monocratic authority be perceived high. High emphasis upon monocratic authority may, in fact, be perceived necessary because of inadequacies in the expertise of participants.

Thus by taking some liberties with both Weber's and Gouldner's theories four types of bureaucracies: mock,

¹³Ibid., p. 214. (Verb tenses changed from past to present.)

representative or collegial, monocratic, and punishment-centered, can be identified and described.

The Authority Dimension of Bureaucracy

Four dimensions, hierarchy of authority, rules, procedural specifications, and impersonality are theoretically interrelated and together they form a major dimension of the bureaucracy. This major dimension is identified in this study as the authority dimension. The empirical rating of the four types of bureaucracies should result in high scores on the authority dimension in the monocratic and the punishment-centered bureaucracies but a low score on this dimension in the representative and mock bureaucracies.

In the section which follows, these four dimensions are discussed in more specific detail.

Hierarchy of Authority. Weber lists a number of characteristics of rational-legal authority in the bureaucracy. Among these are:

1. A continuous organization of official functions bound by rules.
2. A specified sphere of competence based on a division of labor with authority and sanctions to ensure proper role performance.
3. A hierarchical arrangement of offices in terms of supervision and control.
4. The governing of the conduct of an office by technical rules or by norms and the requiring of specialized training for the incumbents of these offices.
5. Complete separation of the property belonging to the organization and the property belonging to the official.

6. The lack of rights to his office by the incumbent. He cannot appropriate his official position in his own interests.

7. Administrative acts, decisions, and rules are formulated and recorded in writing.¹⁴

Hopkins explains that in Weber's interpretation authority is exercised when a given order is obeyed. When the recipient's action demonstrates that the command was the basis for action, the recipient is complying to the authority of the person who issued the command. Compliance is motivated by the legitimation of authority. Bureaucratic authority is rational-legal and contains the ideas: obedience as an obligation to statuses rather than persons, commands as extensions of general rules, rules being applicable to all participants, and the possibility of changing rules. Authority structures are institutionalized in offices. The three general levels in the structure include the rulers, the administrators, and the subordinates. Rulers make rules; administrators interpret and apply rules; subordinates follow rules.

Hopkins criticizes Weber for focusing attention only upon administrators. Instead he proposes that Barnard's analysis which views an hierarchy of authority similar to Weber's allows for the examination of participants at all three of the levels identified above.

¹⁴D. Katz and R. L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 207, quoting Weber M. The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (translated by A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons) T. Parsons, editor (New York: The Free Press, 1947), p. 191.

In summary, Hopkins maintains that authority is a result of an interaction between a person issuing a command and another complying to it. An authoritative role is defined by a stable distribution of commanding actions to one set of roles and complying actions to another set. An authority system consists of sets of complex command-compliance relations. The authority system is an abstracted aspect of some concrete **social system**. Legitimation is achieved through a reliance upon common values and norms which may become institutionalized, although subordinates may not consider an authority system to be legitimate. What is necessary for institutionalization is that some members of the corporate group consider the authority system legitimate. The rationality of the values legitimating bureaucratic authority support impersonality with regard to personal questions. The authority system is an outgrowth of the rational division of labor which is accompanied by a division of status and rank and except for the highest and lowest, each rank is connected to each other on an equal, subordinate, or superordinate basis.¹⁵

Rules for Members. In the modern organization there are fixed and official jurisdictional areas which are ordered by rules. The authority to give commands is delimited by

¹⁵Terence K. Hopkins, "Bureaucratic Authority: The Convergence of Weber and Barnard," Complex Organizations, Amitai Etzioni, editor (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1962), pp. 82-98.

rules concerning coercive means and other acts which may be placed at the disposal of officials. The office follows rules which are stable, which may be learned, and which when learned provide partially for the official's expertness.¹⁶ The rules are impersonal and they assist to guarantee control by the superordinate officials as well as to provide security for subordinates.

Rules are the equivalent of orders. However they are superior to verbal orders because they can be learned and can become standardized. Similarly, rules provide remote control and they legitimize sanctions if they are disobeyed. Additionally they provide leeway in the event that they are not enforced. Unfortunately they may also preserve apathy among organization members, and members may require close supervision to encourage adherence.¹⁷

Procedural Specifications. Rules possess a directive function. They provide guidelines for behavior of individuals and they structure the relationships between individuals in the organization. Thus various individuals may be pursuing diffuse subgoals but the rules will systematize their pursuit toward the central goals of the organization. In the school the rules governing classroom procedures and those affecting

¹⁶From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, trans. and eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 196, 198.

¹⁷Gouldner, op. cit., pp. 157-180.

the interactions between the teachers and pupils will directly influence the achievement of the actual goals of the school.¹⁸

Impersonality. Impersonality is a minimization of personal relations and a resort to categorization resulting in stereotyped behavior on the part of the bureaucrat. The stereotype is arrogant and haughty, for it is only through these kinds of behavior that impersonality and the authority which the bureaucrat represents can be maintained.¹⁹ Impersonality results from the rules of office and ensures the security of the incumbent. Impersonality also prevents outside influence by the clientele upon the organization. Often the result is conflict between the organization and its clients.²⁰

The Expertise Dimension of Bureaucracy

Two sub-dimensions, specialization and technical competence, are theoretically related and together they form the second major dimension of the bureaucracy. This is identified as the expertise dimension. The empirical rating of the four types of bureaucracies should result in high scores on the expertise dimension in the monocratic and

¹⁸James G. Anderson, "Bureaucratic Rules: Bearers of Organizational Authority," Educational Administration Quarterly, II (Winter, 1966), 13-14.

¹⁹Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," Complex Organizations, Amitai Etzioni, editor (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), p. 55.

²⁰Anderson, op. cit., p. 21.

representative bureaucracies, but a low score in the punishment-centered and mock bureaucracies.

The two sub-dimensions are discussed below.

Specialization. Although bureaucratic operations are governed by abstract principles, bureaucrats must undergo a period of technical training and indoctrination to qualify for their positions. This results in specialization which is the bureaucrat's key to expertness.²¹ Specialization occurs among individual employees and among organizational units,²² both forms being a direct result of the division of labor in a complex organization. Specialization is also ensured by the requirement that office management presupposes thorough and expert training.²³ This dimension is therefore characterized by several primary features: technical training, indoctrination, expertness, appointment to an office, authority resulting from expertness and position, and status.

Technical Competence. The assignment of roles in the hierarchy of bureaucratic offices occurs on the basis of technical qualifications which are ascertained through formalized, impersonal procedures.²⁴ The requirement of this dimension is that an individual learn a technique which may be related to

²¹Blau and Scott, op. cit., pp. 60, 61.

²²James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1961), p. 158.

²³Gerth and Mills, op. cit., p. 197.

²⁴Merton, op. cit., p. 49.

the rules of his office, or to the expertise or skill required as a part of his official responsibility. The techniques may involve both official and technical skills. These skills may vary in complexity and in quality. It is assumed that those in higher offices possess superior techniques and higher degrees of competence than do incumbents of lower offices. Therefore an official must develop new skills in order to be considered eligible for promotion to the next higher office.

II. THE BUREAUCRATIC SCHOOL

In his discussion of the school as an organization, Charles Bidwell begins with the statement of three assumptions. His first assumption is that the school is a service organization whose function is the moral and technical socialization of the clients who are the pupils. Second, he assumes that the role structure of the school is dichotomous with respect to pupil and staff roles. Pupils are under compulsion to attend; teachers participate voluntarily. Pupils may or may not be interested in or have the capability to achieve a minimal level of accomplishment, yet teachers are expected to provide equal opportunity to all pupils and to assist all pupils to achieve a minimal accomplishment level. Third, he assumes that all schools are to some degree bureaucratic, characterized by a division of labor, a definition of staff roles as offices, a hierarchic ordering of offices, and

operation according to rules of procedure.²⁵

In this study the third assumption is most relevant. Assuming, then, that the school is bureaucratic in organizational form, a further examination of the nature of this bureaucracy is pertinent.

Schools within a system are granted some degree of autonomy. Within the school the principal and the teachers are granted considerable control over teaching methods, internal organization, and structure. Provided that minimal standards of pupil accomplishment are achieved, whatever the criteria, the school as a unit may continue to enjoy this autonomy. The result will be some degree of structural looseness. The school may diverge from the monocratic bureaucracy in two ways. It may possess looseness of structure resulting from the nature of the situation in which the school task is to be accomplished and from varying degrees of professionalism displayed by teachers. There may be an absence of specialized teacher offices.²⁶ This latter observation will be true in terms of hierarchy of authority among teachers, but it will not be true relative to technical specialization related to subject areas within which competence can be achieved and identified.

²⁵Charles E. Bidwell, "The School as a Formal Organization," Handbook of Organizations, James G. March, editor (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), pp. 972-978.

²⁶Ibid.

Many factors impinge upon the school as an organizational unit and contribute to the nature of its structure. The nature of the bureaucracy in a particular school will be influenced by factors internal to the school: autonomy granted to teachers, the demand for collegiality in decision-making by teachers, the attitudes and capabilities of the administrators in the school, the body of pupils, and the mode of operation adopted by the staff and administration as a unit. Forces exerted by relevant systems external to the school are also capable of influencing its structure. These systems include the superordinate authorities: district administration, the school board, and the provincial or state authority. Various groups such as parent associations, other schools including colleges and universities, governmental arms other than those directly responsible for school operation, and teacher organizations, are also likely to exert some influence upon each school.

An infinite series of combinations of factors with potential influence upon school structure seems possible. It may therefore be anticipated that variations of a single bureaucratic model will be found in the empirical analysis of the structure of schools. The discussion presented earlier in this chapter supports this contention that variations of the model will occur.

Many factors influence upon the school as an organization. This includes the national and international situation, the nature of the community in which the school is situated, the influence of parents internal to the school system, the demand for religiously in decision-making by teachers, the attitudes and capabilities of the administrators in the school, the body of pupils, and the mode of operation adopted by the staff and administration as a unit. Forces exerted by relevant systems external to the school are also capable of influencing its structure. These

systems include the superordinate authorities: district administration, the school board, and the provincial or state authority. Various groups such as parent associations, other schools including colleges and universities, governmental

arms other than those directly responsible for school operation, and teacher organizations, are also likely to exert some influence upon each school.

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Two previous research projects²⁷ which examined the degree of bureaucratization in schools focused attention upon six bureaucratic characteristics: hierarchy of authority, specialization, rules for members, procedural specification, impersonality, and technical competence. Data from the Robinson study indicated a negative correlation between data on two of the subscales and the other four.²⁸ The combination of these findings and Udy's,²⁹ along with the previous examination of the theory provides support for a typology of bureaucratic organization in schools. By combining the four dimensions: hierarchy of authority, rules for members, procedural specification, and impersonality into one major dimension, the authority dimension; and specialization, and technical competence into another dimension, the expertise dimension, the typology as shown in Figure 2 can be constructed. In response to a questionnaire measuring teacher perceptions of bureaucracy on the dimensions, authority and expertise, the following results may be anticipated.

²⁷D. A. MacKay, "An Empirical Study of Bureaucratic Dimensions and Their Relations to Other Characteristics of School Organizations " (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1964) and N. Robinson, "A Study of the Professional Role Orientations of Teachers and Principals and Their Relationship to Bureaucratic Characteristics of School Organizations " (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1966).

²⁸Robinson, op. cit., p. 118.

²⁹Stanley H. Udy, Jr., "Bureaucracy and Rationality in Weber's Organization Theory: An Empirical Study," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), 793.

e x p e r t i s e		Authority	
		High	Low
High		Weberian Monocratic Bureaucracy	Weberian Collegial or Gouldnerian Representative Bureaucracy
Low		Gouldnerian Punishment-Centered Bureaucracy	Gouldnerian Mock Bureaucracy

FIGURE 2

A TYPOLOGY OF BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS

In the Weberian monocratic bureaucracy, scores on both the authority and the expertise dimensions may be expected to be high. In the collegial or representative bureaucracy, scores on the expertise dimension may be expected to be high, but on the authority dimension, low. In the punishment-centered bureaucracy, scores on the authority dimension may be expected to be high, but on the expertise dimension, low. Finally, in the mock bureaucracy, scores on both the authority and expertise dimension may be expected to be low.

The typology presented above formed the basis for categorizing schools in the sample selected for study in this research. These types are defined operationally in a later section.³⁰ In the discussion presented below the descriptions of the four bureaucratic types are applied to

³⁰Infra., Chapter IV.

schools to propose characteristics to be expected in each.

Types of Bureaucratic Schools

The descriptions of four types of bureaucratic schools presented below are based upon a combination of Weber's and Gouldner's theories. The operational descriptions of these types involve the measurement of six characteristics of school bureaucracies: hierarchy of authority, rules for members, procedural specifications, impersonality, technical competence, and specialization. The combination of the first four of these constitutes a major dimension identified in this study as an authority dimension, and the combination of the last two constitutes a second major dimension, an expertise dimension. It is recognized that these are tentative descriptions dependent at this point upon relative comparisons of six bureaucratic characteristics of a limited number of schools. Their refinement will depend upon further research which may make use of this type of categorization.

The Monocratic School. The monocratic school is characterized by a high emphasis upon both the authority and expertise dimensions of bureaucracy. Within the school both administrative and teacher offices are clearly defined. The conduct of these offices is bound by rules, and labor requiring specified spheres of competence is divided among the offices. There is a clear superior-subordinate relationship among the offices. Ultimate authority rests in the position of the highest authority in the school, the position of the principal.

Rules govern procedures relative to other offices and within offices. Thus all activities of participants within the organization, including procedures used by teachers in the classroom, are governed by rules. Impersonality characterizes relations among offices and between offices and clientele. Formal relationships are expected among teachers and standardized, impersonal relationships are maintained among teachers and pupils. All pupils are provided equal opportunity, equal instruction, and equal treatment in other ways. The tasks of the organization are divided among offices on the basis of official and technical specialization. Principals and vice-principals are responsible for administration, guidance counsellors provide guidance services, and teachers provide instruction in specified subject fields. Persons who are appointed to assume these positions possess a high degree of official and technical competence. For example, the principal knows the requirements of the office of the principal and he possesses the technical competence that results from both professional training and some form of internship.

In Weber's view the monocratic bureaucracy is the most efficient organizational form. Considering the comments of others, however, it is anticipated that a variety of dysfunctions might be found in an organization of this type.

The Punishment-Centered School. Gouldner describes two types of punishment-centered bureaucracies: disciplinary

and grievance. The disciplinary type involves punishment of workers for deviation whereas the grievance type involves punishment of management for deviation.³¹ In this study only the disciplinary punishment-centered bureaucracy was included. Discipline here is considered the means of compensation for inadequacies in the technical competence of organizational participants.

The punishment-centered school is characterized by a high emphasis upon the authority dimension as in the monocratic bureaucracy, but a low emphasis upon the expertise dimension. Essentially the authority dimension functions as in the monocratic bureaucracy. Close supervision is in effect to compensate for deficiencies in the expertise dimension. These deficiencies may involve a variety of combinations. The school may be departmentalized for instructional purposes, but teachers who are assigned to specialized departmental tasks may not be technically competent to achieve them. Teachers may be expected to perform tasks outside the area of instruction, for example the supervision of specialized extra-curricular activities, for which they lack competence.

This organizational pattern may be expected to be accompanied by considerable conflict and tension between teachers and administrators.

³¹Gouldner, Patterns of Bureaucracy, op. cit., pp. 207 ff.

The Representative or Collegial School. Gouldner's representative bureaucracy involves a high degree of bureaucratic striving on the part of management without resistance from workers, and is accompanied by education rather than punishment of workers in cases of deviation from acceptable procedures.³² Weber's collegial bureaucracy differs from his monocratic in the degree of authority granted to superiors. In the collegial bureaucracy the authority of superiors is subject to the approval of some other office. In this study these terms were used to describe a school in which the expertise dimension was emphasized, but the authority dimension de-emphasized. Therefore in a school organized according to the representative or collegial pattern a high degree of specialization is accompanied by a high level of competence among both teachers and administrative officers. Both teachers and administrators are respected as professionals; a high degree of autonomy is granted to each; and any participant who lacks competence or who deviates is educated rather than coerced or punished. Solidarity is achieved through consensual acceptance of rules and procedures. Impersonality is diminished.

Conflict and tension may be expected to be relatively absent in this type of school.

The Mock Bureaucratic School. The mock bureaucracy is

³²Ibid., p. 187 ff.

characterized by the presence of bureaucratic elements but these elements are inoperative.³³ In this type of school elements of both the authority and the expertise dimensions are evident. There is a hierarchy of authority and there are rules and procedural specifications imposed by an authority outside the school. In actual operation, however, positions in the hierarchy do not differ in status; rules and specifications are neither adhered to nor enforced. Teachers feel no fear of superior authority within the school. They possess policy and procedural manuals or handbooks but these are filed and seldom, if ever, considered. Supervision by officials within the school is absent and from outside it is only intermittent. Each teacher is allowed to function in his classroom as he pleases although specific procedures are enforced immediately prior to and during the visit of outside officials. Similar conditions prevail with respect to the expertise dimension. Instruction may be departmentalized but no special effort is made to assure that teachers possess competencies required.

Since the bureaucratic elements are imposed by an external authority, both teachers and administrators in the school gain status from deviating from the requirements of these elements. This organizational pattern is accompanied by little conflict and tension within the school because the

³³ Ibid., pp. 182 ff.

evasion of rules is supported by informal sentiments of both teachers and other participants.

III. EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF BUREAUCRACY

Peabody and Rourke state that there are more than four hundred titles which might be included in an inclusive bibliography of research on public bureaucracies.³⁴ However, Bidwell observes that "few students of organizations have turned their attention to schools, and few students of schools have been sensitive to their organizational attributes."³⁵ One study of bureaucracy in government agencies and four recent studies of schools will be reviewed in this section.

In his report of a study of two government agencies, Blau made reference to some responses in these bureaucratic agencies to various influences. In the state agency, rules governing procedures were stated as abstract principles allowing for adaptation of these procedures to conditions under which staff members operated.³⁶ Three types of modification -- adjustment, redefinition, and amplification resulted.³⁷ (Amplification results when intermediate officials respond

³⁴Robert L. Peabody and Francis E. Rourke, "Public Bureaucracies," Handbook of Organizations, James G. March, editor (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), p. 802.

³⁵Bidwell, op. cit., p. 972.

³⁶Peter M. Blau, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 23.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 26, 27.

to deviating practices of their subordinates by amplifying procedures to counteract them.)³⁸ Specialization of function of a subunit within the agency also led to modification of procedures either because special rules allowing for this flexibility were in effect, or because under the generality of the statement of rules governing procedures, variation was possible.³⁹

Blau observed that methods of evaluation involving statistical comparisons resulted in higher competitiveness between structural subunits with a resulting decline in productivity. With respect to impersonality in interpersonal relationships, Blau observed that the participants varied in their treatment of clients because of variation in the value of this contact to participants as a source of work satisfaction. Some participants received greater satisfaction than did others from working with clients. Satisfaction increased for these workers with increased personal contact with clients. Another cause of this increased involvement resulted from the preference of this to other tasks in the organization. It is in this section also that Blau described latent functions, or unintended consequences. The consequences of procedural rules could not be unequivocally predicted.⁴⁰

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 47 ff.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 83 ff.

In the federal agency, competence of agents was a primary factor influencing organizational structure. Among the agents who were bureaucratic peers, a differentiation of status based upon variations of competence developed.⁴¹ Such variation in competence was also reflected in the agent's performance of his tasks. The more competent agents became more effective; the less competent appeared to be adversely affected by their lack of status and they became less effective. An agent's competence was therefore influenced by this standing in the group and by unofficial rules which developed. With respect to bureaucratic authority, variations resulted when group members failed to unquestioningly obey the directives of the superior. This occurred when the superior was not respected as leader and when he did not exercise sanctions at his disposal to encourage group compliance. Two forms of authority, formal and informal, were in evidence and various combinations of degree of each appeared to be prevalent.⁴²

The bureaucracies studied by Blau also were favorable toward change. He identified several reasons for this: the existence of irritating difficulties created positive attitudes toward changes which removed the irritation; the interest in change because change led to organizational

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 143 ff.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 207 ff.

expansion; the progressive attitude of officials; the previous rules ensured that new practices would involve no extra work for existing units; the competent officials welcomed the challenge of novelty.⁴³ Blau concluded his discussion with a listing of conditions which appeared conducive to adjustive development. They included a minimum of employment security, a professional orientation toward the performance of duties, established work groups that commanded the allegiance of members, the absence of basic conflict between workers and management, and the existence of organizational needs which were experienced as disturbing.⁴⁴

Gerald Moeller reported a study which investigated the relationship between teacher powerlessness and the bureaucratic structure of school systems. School systems were identified as being bureaucratic by a panel of judges who used criteria supplied to them by the researcher. Powerlessness was measured via a questionnaire administered to teachers. The major hypothesis, that teachers in highly bureaucratic schools would feel powerless, was not supported. In fact, the study reported the opposite to be the case.⁴⁵

Hartley examined bureaucracy in schools and the local-

⁴³Ibid., pp. 207 ff.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 256.

⁴⁵Gerald H. Moeller, "The Relationship Between Bureaucracy in School Organization and Teachers' Sense of Power" (unpublished D. Ed. thesis, Washington University, St. Louis, 1962), p. 146.

cosmopolitan orientation of teachers. In addition to the finding that teachers tended to be more cosmopolitan than local, Hartley reported that large size of schools in terms of pupil enrolment was closely related to a high degree of teacher perception of bureaucratization, and that teachers' sense of structure appeared to be dependent more upon relational characteristics to the organization, such as years of experience and employment, than upon local or cosmopolitan orientation.⁴⁶

A study by MacKay⁴⁷ examined bureaucratic dimensions of schools and their relation to other variables. A scale adapted from Hall⁴⁸ was used to examine school structure. It measured six bureaucratic dimensions: hierarchy of authority, specialization, rules for members, procedural specification, impersonality, and technical competence. The degree of bureaucratization in thirty-one Alberta schools in which grade nine was the highest grade taught and in which there were at least five full-time staff members was examined.⁴⁹ The analysis of data provided by teacher responses to the scale demonstrated significant differences among the schools in the

⁴⁶Harry Joseph Hartley, "Bureaucracy and Local-Cosmopolitan Orientation Examined with Selected Criterion Variables" (unpublished D. Ed. thesis, Pennsylvania State University, Philadelphia, 1964), pp. 84 ff.

⁴⁷MacKay, loc. cit.

⁴⁸R. H. Hall, "An Empirical Study of Bureaucratic Dimensions and their Relation to other Organizational Characteristics" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Ohio State University, Columbus, 1961).

⁴⁹MacKay, op. cit., p. 63.

sample on four of the six subscales and the total scale scores. The exceptional subscales were procedural specifications and technical competence. The analysis of intercorrelations among dimensions showed significant negative correlations between technical competence and the other five dimensions. MacKay found that "... the thirty-one schools in the sample studied differed on four of the subscales and on total score."⁵⁰ In his conclusions, MacKay observed that schools differ in degree of bureaucratization⁵¹ and that the approach used in the study appeared to constitute a valid method for comparing school organizations.⁵²

The MacKay study also examined bureaucratic dimensions of the school and their relation to productivity, and to staff member personality. The hypothesis that productivity of the school would be related to its degree of total bureaucratization was not supported. The hypothesis that an individual member's (teacher's) perception of bureaucratization would be related to his personality-type preference was not generally supported.⁵³

Another study of bureaucracy in schools by Robinson used the scale adapted by MacKay but in a modified form. Part of

⁵⁰MacKay, op. cit., p. 84.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 167.

⁵²Ibid., p. 168.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 166 ff.

this modification involved reducing the total number of items from sixty-two to forty-eight. The study sample included thirty-nine schools ranging in type from elementary to senior secondary.⁵⁴ The intercorrelations of subscale scores showed significant positive correlations between the measurements provided by four subscales: hierarchy of authority, rules for members, procedural specification, and impersonality. Correlations between the other two subscale scores, specialization and technical competence, were also positive. However, correlations between the first four above the last two were negative.⁵⁵ This suggests that in the majority of schools, the perception of high competence and specialization is accompanied by a perception of low emphasis upon hierarchy of authority, rules, procedural specification and impersonality. Robinson's data showed significant differences between observed bureaucratic scores in the schools on each subscale.⁵⁶ Robinson therefore commented that "The highly significant results are probably, in some part, a credit to the ability of this instrument to make discriminations on the concepts being measured";⁵⁷ and later "... the results confirm the general applicability of the bureaucratic model to school organizations."⁵⁸

⁵⁴Robinson, op. cit., pp. 87-89.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 118.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 120.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 122.

⁵⁸Ibid.

The Robinson study also examined the relationship of professional role orientations of teachers and administrators to bureaucratic characteristics of the school.⁵⁹ Staff professional scores were not significantly related to any of the six bureaucratic dimensions. Because he found that in junior secondary schools scores on the sub-scale entitled rules for incumbents was highest, Robinson suggested that, perhaps, the student group influenced in some manner the extent and kind of bureaucratization found in the schools.⁶⁰ Another significant finding of this study was that in general teachers desire greater emphasis upon bureaucratic characteristics in the organization of the school than do principals. Teachers desired more rules for incumbents, more procedural specifications, and more impersonality than did the principals.⁶¹

IV. ALIENATION

Theories of Alienation

In the first chapter of this report a definition of alienation was presented and the etymology of the concept was briefly discussed. In this section the alienation concept will be examined further in its broader aspects, and the specific aspects of alienation selected for empirical study

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 195.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 120-124.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 207.

in this research will be defined. The relationship of these specific aspects to the more general historical and current connotations of the term will be discussed.

Eric and Mary Josephson observe that alienation has been used in modern times by social scientists to refer to such a variety of disorders as "loss of self, anxiety states, anomie, despair, depersonalization, rootlessness, apathy, social disorganization, loneliness, atomization, powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, pessimism, and the loss of beliefs and values."⁶² The Josephsons review some of the literature of the social sciences to provide evidence for the linkage of these concepts with alienation. Their review includes references to three foci of Marx's alienation: the self, social organizations, and society in general. Alienation from the self is for Karen Horney the remoteness of the neurotic from his own feelings, wishes, beliefs, and energies; for Eric Fromm it is the feeling of the man whose acts and their consequences have become his masters. Alienation from bureaucratic organization was anticipated by Max Weber. This anticipation has since been reaffirmed by Reisman, Mills, Dubin, and others. Alienation toward society in general has been characterized by personal despair and selflessness (Kierkegaard and Nietzsche), powerlessness (Marx), atomism (Kornhauser), and a rejection of

⁶²Eric Josephson and Mary Josephson, "Introduction," Man Alone, Eric and Mary Josephson, editors (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1962), pp. 12, 13.

traditional values and beliefs (Josephsons). These feelings are claimed to be the consequences of Durkheim's anomie, the breakdown of the structure of culture accompanied by a disjunction between cultural norms and values and the ability of members of groups to act in accord with them.⁶³

The pervasiveness of alienation in modern society is referred to by Weiss in the following quotation.

Modern man becomes more and more alienated from his self and his fellow man, from his nature and his culture, from his work and his leisure, from his body and his sex, from his feelings and from his creative potential. This all pervasive alienation has become a main phenomenon of our culture.⁶⁴

He views alienation:

... as the unavoidable result of civilization and its discontents; as an expression of the centuries-old subject/object dichotomy in western thought; as the result of cultural orientation that overfocuses on the conscious, the rational, and disregards the unconscious, emotional aspects of man; as the dehumanizing effect of a modern social system which emphasizes mechanization and conformity, which generates excessive anxiety by threat of atomic war, and which in the process of social change uproots the individual.⁶⁵

In another article Weiss further emphasizes that alienation is a resultant condition for the individual. He observes that, "The alienated patient is not born alienated, nor does

⁶³Ibid., pp. 12-53.

⁶⁴Frederick A. Weiss, "Introduction," The American Journal of Psychoanalysis, XXI (1961), 117.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 117, 118.

he choose alienation."⁶⁶

The discussion presented above identifies major authors who have been concerned with alienation and provides support for the definition presented in the first chapter. Alienation is "... an estrangement or separation between the personality and significant aspects of the world of experience."⁶⁷ The separation may be an objective state, a state of feeling, or a motivational state. It may be between the self and the objective world, the self and certain aspects of the self, or between the self and the total self. It is a state that is experienced to a greater or lesser degree by all members of society. Most students of alienation either state or imply that increasing numbers of individuals in society are becoming alienated. Finally, alienation is not a state considered desirable by most individuals.

Kenneth Keniston has expressed concern about the variety of denotations and connotations associated with the term alienation. He states that:

In practice, then, "alienation" has become an increasingly rhetorical and at times entirely emotive concept, often synonymous merely with the feeling that 'something is wrong somewhere' and that 'we have lost something good'.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Frederick A. Weiss, "Self-Alienation: Dynamics and Therapy," The American Journal of Psychoanalysis, XXI (1961), 208.

⁶⁷Supra, pp. 7, 8.

⁶⁸Kenneth Keniston, The Uncommitted (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1960), p. 452.

He further asserts that the usage of the term definitely indicates that there are several distinct alienations which can be identified. Therefore, in considering types of alienation, its object or focus must be defined; the relationship which has been lost must be defined; and the response to an alienated feeling must be identified. The types of alienation which Keniston presents are: cosmic outcastness, "the loss of connection with a divinely or metaphysically structured universe that 'cares' about man";⁶⁹ developmental estrangements, "losses in individual life of ties and relationships that can never be re-enacted";⁷⁰ historical loss, loss resulting from the replacement of "customs, outlooks, or technologies";⁷¹ self-estrangement, failure of the individual to "realize the extent of his separation from what is best within him";⁷² and individual alienation "whose immediate agent is the self (which is 'freely' chosen rather than imposed) and "... that involves an active rejection of the focus of alienation (rather than merely the absence of relationship with it)."⁷³ This last form is characterized by a rejection of the dominant norms and values of a society.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 455.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 456.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 461.

⁷²Ibid., p. 464.

⁷³Ibid.

Keniston summarizes his discussion in a series of figures, four of which are reproduced below. All four figures refer to a single three-dimensional spherical space. The three orthogonal dimensions are attitude, focus, and mode. Each figure represents a plane cross-section taken from the center of the sphere. This examination simplifies the illustration in Figure 3 of alienated and conformist attitudes toward two foci: behavioral norms and cultural values. In this figure violation represents the rejection of behavioral norms and repudiation the rejection of cultural values. Obedience indicates acceptance of behavioral norms and confirmation the acceptance of cultural values.

In Figure 4 the vertical axis is common with that in Figure 3, but the horizontal axis is orthogonal to that in Figure 3. In Figure 4 alloplastic alienation involves change, whereas autoplasic alienation involves maladaptation. Similarly conservation and submission represent alloplastic and autoplasic conformism. In these figures alloplastic behavioral modes represent attempts to transform the world, whereas autoplasic behavioral modes represent attempts to transform the self. In Figure 5 the combination of alloplastic modes with behavioral norms leads to activity, and with cultural values to ideology. Autoplasic modes result in adjustment toward behavioral norms and to internalization of cultural values.

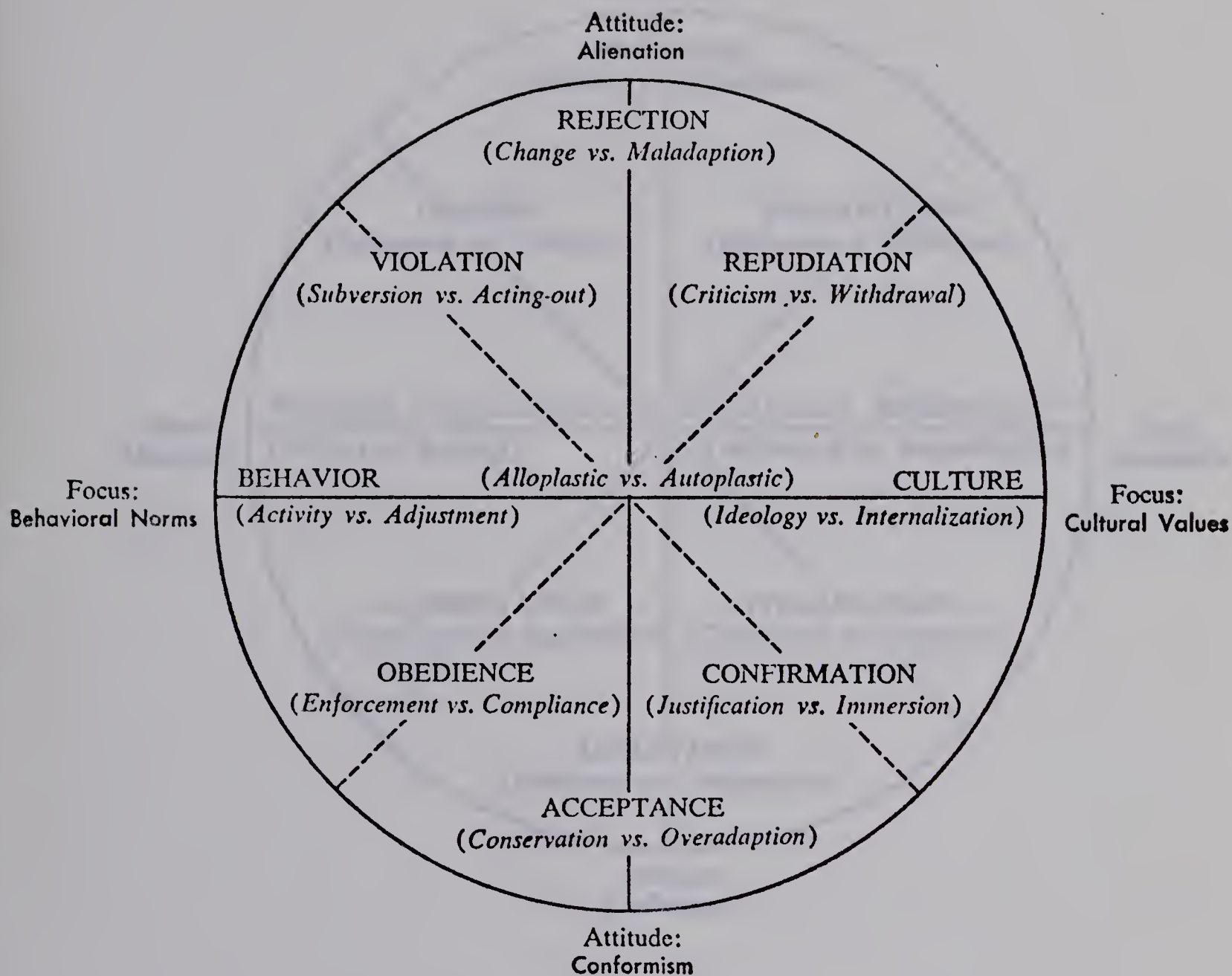


Figure 3
Attitude and Focus⁷⁴

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 467.

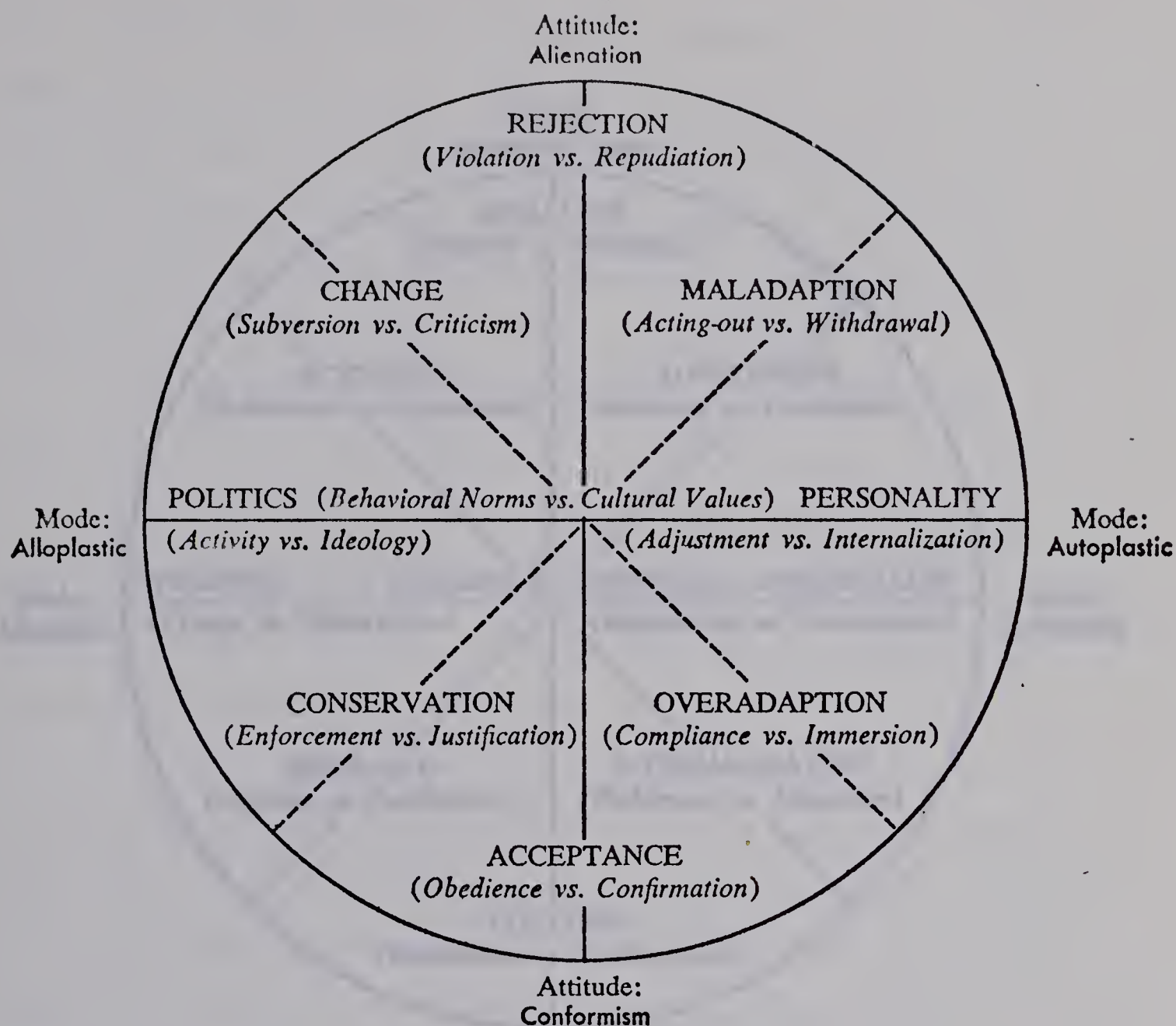


Figure 4
Attitude and Mode⁷⁵

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 468.

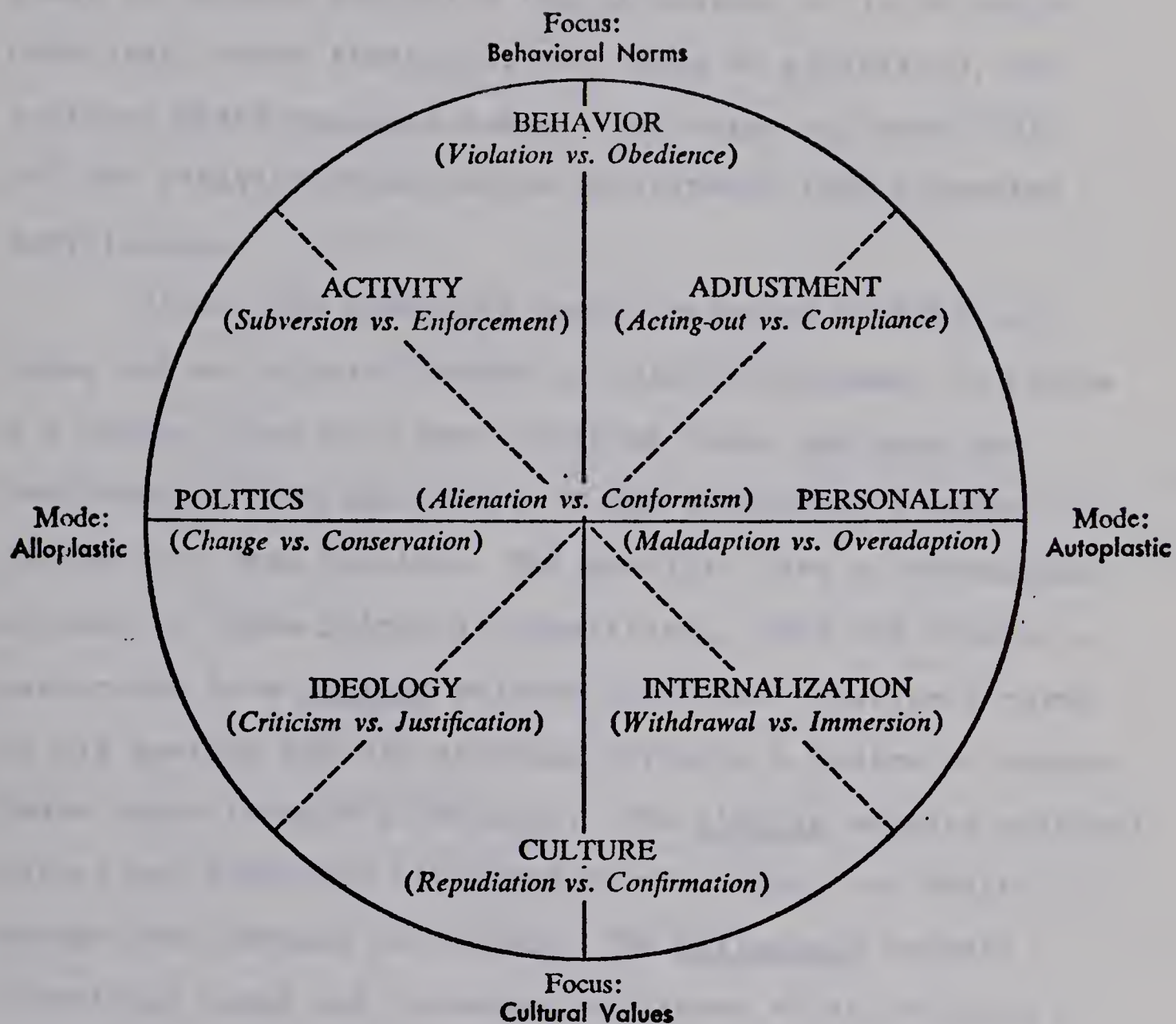


Figure 5
Focus and Mode⁷⁶

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 469.

These three figures emphasize Keniston's three major areas of concern regarding the alienation of individuals. Once again these three are: the focus of alienation, the attitude which develops toward that which has been lost, and the behavior which can be anticipated from alienated individuals.

Within the spherical space presented by Keniston there are an infinite number of point locations. In Figure 6 a single plane with axes entitled focus and mode has been removed from the center of the sphere and a number of points have been located. The specific form of alienation at each of these points is identified. Thus for example a person who is a radical rejects political behavioral norms of his society and his attitude reflects a desire to change these norms through subversion. The utopian rejects cultural values and possesses attitudes which reflect the desire to change them through criticism. The delinquent rejects behavioral norms and possesses attitudes which indicate a desire for adjustment by adhering to personal norms which conflict with those generally accepted. The schizophrenic rejects cultural values and possesses attitudes which encourage complete withdrawal from the real world. Attitudes emphasized in this last figure may or may not result in behaviors which would lead to the achievement of desires. Keniston feels that he can predict attitudes but not behavior. He observes that individuals with identical attitudes might

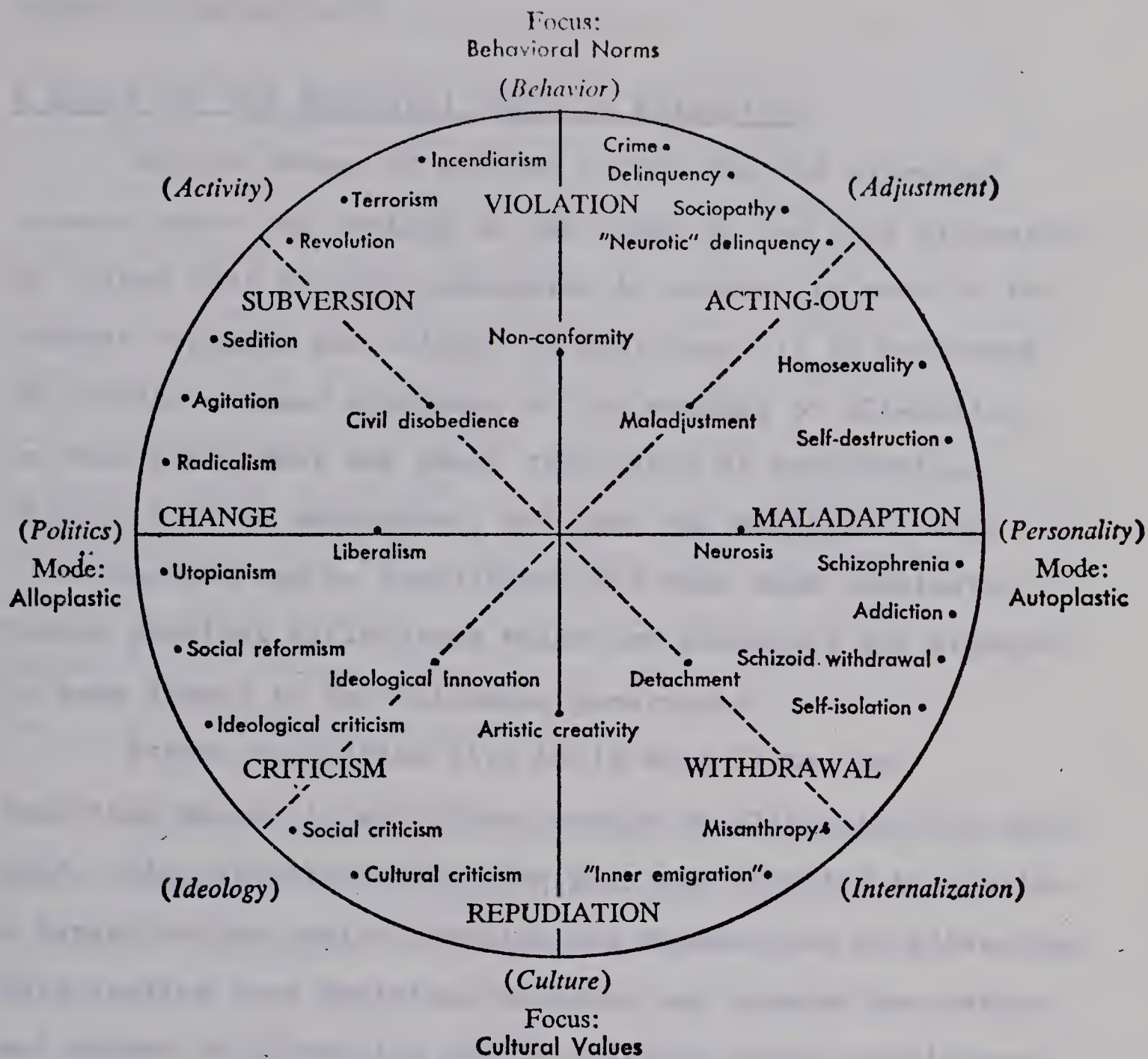


Figure 6
Varieties of Alienation⁷⁷

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 470.

behave differently.⁷⁸

A Basis for the Empirical Study of Alienation

Melvin Seeman is another author who has expressed concern about the variety in the usage of the term alienation. He claims that because alienation is central to much of the current research and writing in sociology, it is necessary to provide a clear statement of the meaning of alienation in such a way that the great traditions of sociological thought will be maintained, and that the empirical study of alienation can be facilitated and made more meaningful.⁷⁹ Seeman provides definitions which are presented and examined in some detail in the following paragraphs.

Seeman identifies five basic ways listed and described below, in which the concept of alienation has been used. His definitions of these five are intended to provide a basis for the socio-psychological examination of alienation. This implies that empirical research may examine the nature and degree of alienation and in addition social conditions which cause alienation and their behavioral consequences.

Powerlessness. "The expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes or the reinforcements he seeks."⁸⁰

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 466-473.

⁷⁹Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December 1959), 783.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 784 (*italics in original*).

Seeman attributes the identification of this dimension to Marx, and its extension to uses beyond the work situation to Weber, and Mills. The use of powerlessness as an expectancy results in this version of alienation being closely related to the internal, personal, rather than external, chance or luck, control of reinforcements. Seeman initially limits the use of this first meaning to the description of man's relation to the larger social order. Later he states that expectancies for the control of outcomes through one's own behavior will vary with the behavior involved, and will vary in different areas of activity. Therefore it follows logically that this dimension can be measured in an organizational context.

Meaninglessness. "A low expectancy (by the individual) that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made."⁸¹ Whereas powerlessness refers to the sensed ability to control outcomes, meaninglessness refers to the sensed ability to predict behavioral outcomes. Therefore meaninglessness refers to an individual's sense of understanding of the events in which he is engaged. In this sense the individual experiences a high degree of alienation when his minimal standards for clarity in decision-making are not met.⁸² Seeman attributes the origin of this meaning to

⁸¹Ibid., p. 786 (words in parentheses added).

⁸²Ibid.

Mannheim who theorized that as society becomes increasingly organized on the basis of functional rationality, individuals are left with less and less opportunity to act on the basis of their own insight. Individuals cannot choose appropriately because the increase in functional rationality with its emphasis on specialization and production makes such choice impossible.⁸³ Of further significance is the fact that the consequences of the individual's choice between alternative beliefs cannot be predicted by him with any confidence.⁸⁴

Normlessness. "A high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals."⁸⁵ Seeman attributes this definition to a derivation from Durkheim's anomie in which common values which govern and reassure individuals in their behavior are submerged and individuals seek satisfaction by any means which may be successful.⁸⁶ Seeman obtains support from Merton who suggests that when culturally prescribed goals are not congruent with available means for their attainment, normlessness develops and individuals react in a way assuring success, whether the procedures are or are not culturally legitimate.⁸⁷

⁸³Ibid., p. 786, author citing Karl Mannheim, Man and Society in the Age of Reconstruction (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1950), p. 59.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 786.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 787.

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 787-788.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 787, author citing Robert K. Merton, Mass Persuasion (New York: Harper Bros., 1956), p. 143.

Isolation. "Assign(ing) low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in a given society."⁸⁸ This usage does not infer a lack of social ties but rather the willingness to forsake prevalently desirable goals or beliefs, which are generally acceptable, for those which an individual might choose for personal reasons. Seeman suggests that whereas the innovator who uses culturally disapproved means to achieve his goals displays normlessness, he who demonstrates isolation would be rebellious, and his actions would lead to a greatly modified structure. Here as in the case of the previously discussed forms of alienation the investigator may view situations on a broad or on a narrow scale.⁸⁹

Self-Estrangement. "The degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards."⁹⁰ Seeman observes this form of alienation displayed by those who see reward outside the activity in which they participate. The self-estranged individual is unable to find reward in an activity pursued for its own sake but must always seek outside reward. Seeman claims that an "other-directed" person who simply acts for the benefit received from the reaction of others to the activity displays this alienation form.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 789 (ending in parentheses added).

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 790.

There is a loss of intrinsic meaning or pride in work. Because self-estrangement is alienation from self, Seeman suggests that it is a difficult concept to deal with. Similarly, because estrangement is from an idealized self, it is necessary to consider the ideal circumstances which would be required to foster the development of an ideal self.⁹¹

Summary. In the way in which Seeman has defined his five variants or dimensions of alienation, they are closely related to historical and current connotations associated with the term. These definitions are amenable to empirical study through the examination of the attitudes of subjects. As Seeman suggests "the five variants of alienation ... can be applied to as broad or as narrow a range of social behavior as seems useful."⁹²

Seeman's categorization and definition of dimensions of alienation appear to be especially suitable as a theoretical basis for the study of pupil alienation from the school. The discussion of the bases for the empirical measurement of these dimensions of alienation was included in the report of the pilot study preceding this research. That report is contained in Appendix E.⁹³

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid., p. 788.

⁹³See pages 187-228.

In addition to the examination of the degree of alienation on each dimension, degree defined as the combination of the five dimensions was considered relevant.

V. EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF ALIENATION

Alienation of Workers in Heavy Industries

In his report of a study of alienation and freedom Robert Blauner discussed the relationships between technology, social structure, and personal experience. His discussion was based upon the study of factory workers in the print shop, the textile mill, the automobile assembly line, and the automated chemical plant. His report considered, among other things, the worker's relation to the sociological organization of the factory, whether or not the worker experienced in his work a sense of control rather than domination, meaningful purpose rather than futility, social connection rather than isolation, and spontaneous involvement and self-expression rather than detachment and discontent.⁹⁴ His conclusion was that there was no easy answer to the question of whether or not a factory worker was alienated. He observed that in some cases modern technology and the principles of bureaucratic organization appeared to possess alienating tendencies; in other cases, the conditions counteracted them and resulted in control, meaning, and integration.⁹⁵

⁹⁴Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. vii.

⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 166-167.

His findings indicated that members of craft industries "are usually highly integrated on the basis of traditions and norms of the various occupational specialties, and social alienation is low because of the skilled worker's loyalty to, and identification with his particular craft or trade union."⁹⁶ Workers in machine industries had less identity and autonomy, and were consequently less integrated socially, unless the workers were women who tended to be more satisfied than were men with routine jobs. Southern textile workers were found to be more highly integrated than machine industry workers because the industrial community was very similar to the local community. Finally, workers in an automobile assembly plant were characterized by cynicism and volatility toward authority and infringements on personal rights.⁹⁷ This worker's "dignity lies in his peculiarly individualistic freedom from organizational commitments."⁹⁸ Blauner proposed that the history of alienation could be charted with an inverted "U" curve. Alienation was low in craft industries, high in the machine industry, and is being followed by a countertrend in the automated industry. Automation increases the workers' control over the work process and checks the further division of labor and growth of large factories. Nevertheless, the

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 175.

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 175-177.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 178.

author concluded that alienation continues to be a widespread phenomenon in the modern factory.⁹⁹

In an investigation of alienation among workers associated with work-based compared with individuals not associated with work-based organizations, Neal and Seeman found that membership in work-based organizations generally led to a lowered sense of alienation in the form of powerlessness although other dimensions did not necessarily follow the same pattern. The study also showed that highly mobile persons felt more powerless when not associated with organizations. Organizational ties were most relevant to highly mobile manual and non-manual workers.¹⁰⁰

Neal and Rettig in a study of manual and non-manual workers found support for the conceptual separation of alternative meanings of alienation. In a factor analysis of their data they found the powerlessness and normlessness dimensions to be orthogonal to an anomie scale. However, contrary to the findings of Neal and Seeman, they did not find a significant relationship between alienation and mobility commitments of respondents.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 182-183.

¹⁰⁰Arthur G. Neal and Melvin Seeman, "Organizations and Powerlessness: A Test of the Mediation Hypothesis," American Sociological Review, XXIX (April, 1964), 225.

¹⁰¹Arthur G. Neal and Salomon Rettig, "Dimensions of Alienation Among Manual and Non-Manual Workers," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (August, 1963), 608.

Social Factors and Individual Alienation

Dwight Dean hypothesized a negative correlation between social status and alienation, a positive correlation between advancing age and alienation, and a negative correlation between rural background and alienation. His randomly selected sample included individuals living in Columbus, Ohio. Generally the hypotheses were sustained at statistically significant levels.¹⁰²

Reporting on a study of the relationship between alienation and socio-cultural factors, Middleton stated that social conditions of deprivation were related to alienation, and that subordinate racial status and limited education were strongly associated with all but one type of alienation, that being cultural estrangement. He identified the most striking finding of his study to be the pervasiveness of alienation among Negroes.¹⁰³

Alienation of Workers and Clients in Service Industries

Pearlin studied the relevance of some structural properties of a mental hospital to the alienation of its nursing force from its work. Alienation was found to be most likely to occur where authority figures and their

¹⁰²Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review, XXVI (October, 1961), 757.

¹⁰³Russell Middleton, "Alienation, Race, and Education," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (December, 1963), 977.

subjects stood in positions of great disparity, where superordinate communication discouraged exchange, and where the superordinate exercised his authority in relative absentia. The opportunity structure of the hospital was also related to alienation. Alienation was conspicuous among limited achievers, but low among high achievers. Rewards other than promotion tended to cause alienative feelings to dissipate. Dissatisfaction with these rewards appeared to cause alienation. Isolation on the job accompanied by a lack of extra-work social contact with fellow workers tended also to cause alienation.¹⁰⁴

In an intensive study of a small sample of male undergraduate students Davids found that the alienated student possessed apperceptions revealing relatively large amounts of egocentricity, distrust, pessimism, anxiety, and resentment. The student's apperception of the alienation of others was distorted although he saw his contemporaries as being less alienated than himself.¹⁰⁵

Using an unidimensional measure of alienation and of particularism, Zurcher, et al., tested the hypothesis among members of differing cultural groups that components of a

¹⁰⁴Leonard I. Pearlin, "Alienation from Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel," American Sociological Review, XXVII (June, 1962), 314-326.

¹⁰⁵Anthony Davids, "Alienation, Social Apperception, and Ego Structure," Journal of Consulting Psychology, XIX (February, 1955), 26.

work situation in which an organizational expectation influenced by the culture of one society was in conflict with a modal value influenced by the culture of another society. It was further hypothesized that the resulting conflict would lead to the alienation of these workers. The subjects were bank employees who were assumed to be subject to the universalistic expectations of this bureaucracy, whereas some employees might have particularistic orientations. The hypotheses were generally supported.¹⁰⁶

Simmons studied the relationship between liberalism and alienation from society and the relationship between alienation from society and personal disturbance. Using a forced choice questionnaire administered to four hundred university students who were described as being students primarily in the social sciences, and who demonstrated conformity to institutional expectations by rather regular attendance, he measured their degree of alienation and degree of liberalism. The responses indicated that alienation tended to be higher among subjects who were liberal in a number of major areas. Those subjects who were alienated from society tended to be more "disturbed" on each of a number of specific social psychological dimensions, including normlessness, powerlessness, social isolation, despair, misanthropy, life-

¹⁰⁶Louis A. Zurcher, Arnold Meadow, and Susan Lee Zurcher, "Value Orientation, Role Conflict, and Alienation from Work: A Cross-Cultural Study," American Sociological Review, XXX (August, 1965), 539-548.

dissatisfaction, low self-esteem and attitude uncertainty.¹⁰⁷

Clark measured the alienation dimension powerlessness among the members of an agricultural cooperative and related this to satisfaction, the degree to which expectations of the cooperative were perceived by the members to have been achieved. Powerlessness was found to have a wide range among members. Satisfaction among members with the operations of the cooperative was found to decrease as member powerlessness increased.¹⁰⁸

Anthony Davids conducted a study to examine relationships between individual alienation and three aspects of cognitive function: memory for spoken words, associations to isolated stimulus words, and completions of incomplete stimulus materials. The experimental findings resulting from the intensive study of twenty male undergraduate students demonstrated that subjects who were highly alienated were sensitized to words and statements indicative of alienation, and tended to selectively remember this material.¹⁰⁹

Seeman and Evans studied the relationship between alienation and learning among patients in a tuberculosis

¹⁰⁷J. L. Simmons, "Liberalism, Alienation, and Personal Disturbance," Sociology and Social Research, XLIX (1965), 456-464.

¹⁰⁸John P. Clark, "Measuring Alienation Within a Social System," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), 849-852.

¹⁰⁹Anthony Davids, "Generality and Consistency of Relations between the Alienation Syndrome and Cognitive Processes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LI (July, 1955), 61-67.

hospital. Their primary hypothesis was that the patient's general sense of powerlessness would influence his learning about tuberculosis, with high alienation being conducive to poor learning. Their findings demonstrated that those patients who scored high on alienation scored low on a test of objective knowledge about their illness. Conversely, those who scored low on alienation scored high on the test of knowledge. The investigators proceeded to infer from this finding that an individual's sense of personal control would be a factor in determining the level of interest and the degree of knowledge he would possess concerning all of his affairs.¹¹⁰

In a later study Seeman examined the relationship between alienation and social learning in a reformatory. It was hypothesized that different degrees or kinds of learning would characterize those reformatory inmates who held an alienated view of their circumstances because they believed that what happened to them was not a function of their own skill, but of forces that lay outside their own control. More specifically, alienated inmates were expected to learn less information than the unalienated about parole items which were considered relevant to their future careers. The general statement of the hypothesis was supported by the data. He reported in addition that social learning was related to both

¹¹⁰ Melvin Seeman and John W. Evans, "Alienation and Learning in a Hospital Setting," American Sociological Review, XXVII (December, 1962), 772-782.

expectancy for the control of events, and the anticipated reward value of events. He cautioned that the alienation-learning relationship likely did not govern all kinds of learning, but he saw importance in the finding that there was the high relationship in the situation studied.¹¹¹

Jan Hajda investigated the degree of alienation among graduate students who rated themselves as being intellectuals. Especially considered were the students' relationship to the intellectual community and to the larger society, and the intensity of his alienation from the latter. The investigator reported finding feelings of alienation from the academic community, but even more intense alienation from non-academic people. Nevertheless, among the students there were unalienated or integrated intellectuals, alienated non-intellectuals, and integrated non-intellectuals. Hajda attributed alienated feelings among the group of intellectuals to their self-emancipation from popular standards and to social isolation, exclusion, or self-exclusion. He suggested in addition that the intellectual's alienation might be in reciprocation to his feelings that non-intellectuals distrust him. He conceded that no subjects were completely alienated because he observed that a completely alienated person could not be an intellectual.¹¹²

¹¹¹Melvin Seeman, "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," American Journal of Sociology, LXIX (November, 1963), 270-284.

¹¹²Jan Hajda, "Alienation and Integration of Student Intellectuals," American Sociological Review, XXVI (October, 1961), 758-777.

A study of alienation among elementary and secondary school pupils was conducted by Epperson. His purpose was

to conceptualize a part of the pupils' cognitive world in the form of two variants of classroom alienation and to investigate some social relations and performance correlates of these forms of alienation from the classroom interpersonal situation.¹¹³

The study considered two forms of alienation -- isolation and powerlessness -- among the members of a large sample (733) of pupils in grades three to twelve. The results indicated that high isolation and high powerlessness were both related to low actualization of a pupil's academic potential.¹¹⁴

Frank Besag conducted a study intended to define alienation in a fashion amenable to empirical verification, and to test empirically the hypotheses developed from his definition. Although the introduction to his book stated that a definition would be derived from the works of Marx, Durkheim, Merton, Fromm, and Seeman, the section devoted to the review of the work of these men ended without a definition having been presented. Even the list of characteristics of an alienated society and of an alienated person seemed, in some cases, difficult to relate to the theories from which Besag claimed to have drawn them. Nevertheless, Besag extracted twenty hypotheses from the theory and tested them

¹¹³David C. Epperson, "Some Interpersonal and Performance Correlates of Classroom Alienation," The School Review, LXXI (Autumn, 1963), 360.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 370, 371.

among college and university students (tutors) who had volunteered to tutor deprived children, and lower class minority group children (tutees).¹¹⁵

Following the administration to the sample respondents of a scale consisting of rewritten items from Srole's and Nettler's scales, Besag reached the following conclusions.

1. Five factors of alienation appeared in the data.
2. No significant differences in degree of alienation were found among pupils in different socio-economic levels.
3. Female tutees were less alienated than were males.
4. Most highly alienated pupils were those in the age range twelve to fourteen years.¹¹⁶

A highly significant study of alienated students attending Harvard University was reported by Kenneth Keniston. He defined alienation as a rejection of the dominant values, roles, and institutions of society. His was, therefore, a social-psychological study attempting to determine psychological traits and to relate them to societal concomitants. His subjects were alienated from society in general rather than from any one object.¹¹⁷

His research involved the comprehensive study of thirty-six students; twelve extremely alienated, twelve extremely non-alienated, and twelve who were not extreme either way. These

¹¹⁵Frank P. Besag, Alienation and Education (Buffalo: Hertillon Press, 1966), pp. 1-33.

¹¹⁶Ibid., pp. 95-97.

¹¹⁷Keniston, op. cit., pp. 9 ff.

thirty-six students were studied during a three-year period of time. The methodology included the administration of standardized tests, and various unstructured procedures including interviews, the writing of essays, autobiographies, and stories. Also involved were experimental and other- and self-investigational methods. During the three years the subjects devoted about two hours each week to participation in the research. Several qualified researchers assisted with the study.¹¹⁸ By the end of the three-year period, each student had spent about two hundred hours in the research and had provided "hundreds of pages of information about himself, his beliefs, his past life, his family, his college life and development, his fantasies, his hopes and dreams."¹¹⁹

In his book Keniston reported the findings of his study of the alienated group. He described his procedure as follows:

I start with a study of a group of alienated young men, of how they came to be alienated, and of what it is about society that alienates them. In these youths, alienation is more than a vague sense of estrangement.... It is also a way of life, an explicit rejection of the values and outlooks of American culture. These are young men whose alienation extends to virtually every encounter with their world.... Though they are rarely able to define alternatives to the conventional life of well-adjusted Americans, that life profoundly repels them. Yet these men were born into affluence, given the best educations possible, endowed with high talent and a healthy body, and they attend one of the country's most excellent and prestigious colleges.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

Keniston found wide differences among the members of the alienated group. Rather than describe each member separately, Keniston described a composite of the extremely alienated and atypical American youth.

These are not delinquents, psychotics, or revolutionaries, but merely deeply disaffected young men.¹²¹

The individualism of the alienated is not, then, the traditional American view of the individualist working for the good of society within society; mainly it is a solitary and lonely individualism of the outsider, the man who lives physically within his society but remains psychologically divorced from it.¹²²

Only one major section of his text will be reviewed in this summary of the research. Keniston listed four major characteristics of the alienated student's attitude toward the American culture. The list included a distrust of commitment; pessimistic existentialism; anger, scorn and contempt; and aesthetic quest. Specific aspects of these major characteristics are quoted below:

1. Distrust of commitment:
 - (a) low view of human nature,
 - (b) repudiation of intimacy,
 - (c) rejection of group activities,
 - (d) futility of civic and political activities,
 - (e) rejection of American culture,
 - (f) vacillation, hesitation to act.

¹²¹Ibid., p. 14.

¹²²Ibid., p. 73.

2. Pessimistic Existentialism:
 - (a) pessimism about the future,
 - (b) anxiety about the world,
 - (c) universe chaotic, unstructured, meaningless,
 - (d) truth subjective and arbitrary,
 - (e) meaning created by the individual,
 - (f) impossibility of true communication,
 - (g) appearances usually misleading,
 - (h) short-range personally centered values.
3. Anger, scorn, and contempt:
 - (a) justification and admission of resentment; rejection,
 - (b) intolerance, scorn,
 - (c) self-contempt,
 - (d) egocentricity in egocentric world.
4. Aesthetic Quest:
 - (a) awareness, experience, sentience, being,
 - (b) living for today,
 - (c) self-expression and creativity,
 - (d) passion, emotion, feeling,
 - (e) isolated individualism,
 - (f) social outsider,
 - (g) rejection of success.¹²³

Keniston concluded here that alienation constituted a total reaction against values associated with a "characteristically American outlook"¹²⁴ and was a "... response to major collective estrangements, social strains, and historical losses in our society, which first predispose certain individuals to reject their society, and later shape the particular ways they do so."¹²⁵

Keniston concluded his report with an appraisal of the effects of alienation and a plea for the "reconstruction of commitment." He suggested that many of the effects of alienation were undesirable. Nevertheless the results of certain alienated

¹²³Ibid., pp. 80, 81.

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 204.

behaviors could lead to desirable social changes. His reconstruction of commitment he considered desirable provided that the objects toward which commitment might be engendered were altered to meet some utopian criteria which he has failed to define.

Despite the limitations resulting from the study of a non-representative sample of the general population, and the absence of empirical data, Keniston's book presents one of the most perceptive and comprehensive alienation study reports available.

Summary

In the majority of the studies of alienation the concept was considered to be a multidimensional, and factor analysis of the data from at least one measuring instrument yielded orthogonal factors. Statistically, then, the theory of the multidimensionality of alienation has some support. It appears that an individual can be alienated from society, or alienated from membership in a social organization. At the same time he may be alienated from one organization but not necessarily alienated from another. He may also be alienated from himself. The intensity of his alienation may be stronger or weaker on one dimension than on others. So many combinations of attitudes held by individuals appear possible that the composite for each individual is likely to be unique.

Since relevant research has shown a relationship between alienation and other factors including individual learning,

satisfaction, and achievement of potential among the clients of organizations, the present study of alienation of pupils in schools can be considered especially significant.

VI. ALIENATION IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT:

THE BUREAUCRACY - ALIENATION RELATIONSHIP

The following commentary by Gerth and Mills provides an allusion to the possibility of a causal relationship between the bureaucratic structure and the alienation of particularly the lower participants of an organization.

Weber thus identifies bureaucracy with rationality, and the process of rationalization with mechanism, depersonalization, and oppressive routine. Rationality in this context, is seen as adverse to personal freedom. Accordingly, Weber is a nostalgic liberal, feeling himself on the defensive. He deplors the type of man that the mechanization and the routine of bureaucracy selects and forms. The narrowed professional, publicly certified and examined, and ready for tenure and career. His craving for security is balanced by his moderate ambitions and he is rewarded by the honor of official status¹²⁶

It is not difficult to extrapolate from his description to the relationship between the bureaucrat and his client. The probability of client alienation by the bureaucracy and bureaucrats is undoubtedly high.

Katz and Kahn anticipate the following relationship between the complicated organizational structure and organization participants.

¹²⁶Gerth and Mills, op. cit., p. 50.

The effects of the conflict between rising expectations of involvement and the difficulties of communication and participation in a complicated structure of decision-making can have three maladaptive effects: (1) It can produce apathy or alienation among certain elements who see themselves hopelessly outside the system. (2) It can produce blind conformity among those who accept the system and its normative requirements as demands external to themselves and for which they have no responsibility. (3) It can result in ferment without form, rebels without a cause, demonstrations without an appropriate target.¹²⁷

Franz Neumann provides the following commentary.

Bureaucratization ... is a process operating in both public and private sphere, in the state as well as in society. It means that human relations lose their directness and become mediated relations in which third parties, public or private functionaries seated more or less securely in power, authoritatively prescribe the behavior of man¹²⁸

Gouldner's discussion of the red tape aspect of bureaucratic structure leads to the following statement.

... the individual hostile to red tape also feels that there are things to which he is entitled but which he never receives ... what distinguishes the man of resentment is ... his feeling of powerlessness It would appear ... that ... the red-tape-sensitive frame of reference must link up with the phenomenon of alienation.¹²⁹

Etzioni discusses three categories of involvement of participants in organizations. Alienative involvement is an intense negative orientation characteristic of inmates

¹²⁷Katz and Kahn, op. cit., p. 470.

¹²⁸Franz Neumann, "Total Bureaucratization and the Powerless Individual," Reader in Bureaucracy, Robert K. Merton, et al., editors (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952), p. 152.

¹²⁹Alvin W. Gouldner, "Red Tape as a Social Problem," Reader in Bureaucracy, Robert K. Merton, et al., editors (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952), p. 418.

in prisons, enlisted men in basic training, and people in similar circumstances. Calculative involvement describes either a negative or a positive orientation of low intensity. Etzioni suggests that permanent customers are predominantly calculative. Moral involvement describes an orientation of high positive intensity. Among the examples given is that of the devoted parishioner in his church. The author concludes that organizations can be placed on an involvement continuum according to the involvement pattern of the lower participants. An alienation measure should identify the level of involvement of the pupils in the school. A high alienation index would indicate alienative involvement; a low index would indicate moral involvement in Etzioni's terms.

Discussing the import of the bureaucracy as an organizational form Crozier comments as follows:

In a certain way, a bureaucratic system of organization provides a combination of the values of a traditional ascriptive society and those of a modern achievement-oriented society. People may compete for any position; no formal barriers prevent them from doing so. But competition has been institutionalized and separated from the daily life of the work environment; and its formalism has, at least partially, the same protective value as the older ascriptive rules.

Such arrangements, however, present substantial drawbacks for the individual. The bureaucratic world is an arbitrary world. People are protected, but at the price of being partially cut off from reality. They have security and are protected from the sanction of facts; but they have no way of taking the measure of their own endeavour What people gain in security they lose in realism ... people escape the lower-middle-class status panic; instead,

they develop the skimpy outlook of the petty power struggles of a tight social system.¹³⁰

Bureaucracy and Alienation in Schools

In discussing bureaucratization in education, Corwin asserts that, "complex organizations in American society are bureaucratized, and schools are no exception."¹³¹ He documents support for this statement in terms of size, expenditure, centralization, departmentalization, and individual attention.¹³² Following this, Corwin argues that organizational structure, characterized by the bureaucratic tendencies previously listed, creates personal dilemmas for those associated with the organization. This is decidedly the case when in the complex organization of the school contradictions exist due to a conflict of norms. The professional teacher is expected to maintain a high degree of pupil-orientation but at the same time must conform to organizational rules, at least one of which is likely in a bureaucracy to call for impersonal treatment of pupils. The result is likely to be role conflict for the teacher and perhaps in addition, pupil alienation.¹³³ Corwin identifies several situational characteristics of schools, and he anticipates the forms of pupil alienation which are likely to result. He refers to

¹³⁰Michel Crozier, The Bureaucratic Phenomenon (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 208.

¹³¹Ronald G. Corwin, A Sociology of Education (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965), p. 38.

¹³²Ibid., pp. 42 ff.

¹³³Ibid., pp. 46 ff.

excessive parental delegation of authority to the school resulting in pupil powerlessness;¹³⁴ excessive conformity requirements of schools resulting in pupil aimlessness;¹³⁵ emphasis upon extrinsic rewards resulting in normlessness;¹³⁶ increased centralization resulting in isolation;¹³⁷ and failure of pupils to see immediate value in the activities required by the school resulting in self-estrangement and pupil drop-out.¹³⁸

In his discussion of inadequacies of member orientation resulting from structural sources in the organization, Merton observes that:

1. An effective bureaucracy demands reliability or resources and strict devotion to regulations.

2. Such devotion to the rules leads to their transformation into absolutes; they are no longer perceived as relative to a set of purposes.

3. This interferes with ready adaptation under special conditions not clearly envisioned by those who draw up the general rules.

4. Thus, the very elements which conduce toward efficiency in general produce inefficiency in specific instances.¹³⁹

He sees the bureaucrat possessing a strong tendency toward conformance, strictly adhering to regulations, being timid, conservative, and technical, and with sentiments displaced from goals to means.¹⁴⁰ It seems reasonable to consider that

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 83.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 100.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 118.

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 132.

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 211.

¹⁴⁰Merton, op. cit., p. 54.

an individual affected in these ways by the structure of the organization is likely to elicit a high degree of alienation among his clients. The organizational structure thus becomes directly related to the alienation of the clients of the organization.

Continuing, Merton discusses the probable effects upon the publics of the organization of the stress upon impersonal relationships and the sometimes domineering attitude assumed by bureaucrats as a result of their representation of the power and prestige of the organization. The resulting conflict derives from inappropriate attitudes and relationships which are in turn a result of the structural characteristics of the organization.¹⁴¹

In their discussion of the effects of bureaucratic structure Katz and Kahn speak first of bigness and totality. Bigness requires coordination which is facilitated by totality resulting from authority being completely centralized. This totality may be with regard to a single role or with respect to diverse roles.¹⁴² In the school the role of the pupil has always been rather clearly identified. However the school has recently assumed concern over other roles of the pupil. In this context it is difficult to determine whether the responsibility and authority of the school is being broadened

¹⁴¹Ibid., pp. 55-59.

¹⁴²Katz and Kahn, op. cit., p. 461.

because of additional public demand, or because of the increased bureaucratization of the school.

The second concern of these authors is the extent of personal alienation resulting from depersonalization and fragmentation required in the bureaucratic organization. Their conclusions are somewhat more cautious in this case. They suggest that further research is required to examine the results of these characteristics of the bureaucratic organization.¹⁴³ A study of the relationship of client alienation in bureaucratic organizations should provide needed evidence here.

Finally, Katz and Kahn observe that moral integration in a democratic society will be difficult to achieve when there are many instances of rigidity in bureaucratic organizations resulting from emphasis on hierarchy of authority, rules, and impersonality.¹⁴⁴

The preceding statements contribute to the prediction that the structure of the school may affect the attitudes of pupils in ways which are generally considered to be undesirable. The examination of the attitudes held by pupils toward schools in which different types of bureaucratic structures prevail will provide results to confirm or to deny this prediction.

¹⁴³Ibid., pp. 465-467.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 467-471.

VII. SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to describe the origin of the problems and to present a theoretical framework for their empirical examination. From among the bureaucratic characteristics originally proposed by Max Weber, six: hierarchy of authority, rules for members, procedural specification, impersonality, specialization, and technical competence, were identified as significant dimensions for examination in this study. It was recommended that the first four of these be combined to form an authority dimension of bureaucracy, and that the last two be combined to form an expertise dimension. The orthogonal placement of the two major dimensions: authority and expertise, and their empirical definition in terms of school scores on them, resulted in a typology of bureaucratic structures. Cells in the typology were identified using Weber's and Gouldner's terminology. The four types thus identified were monocratic bureaucracy, collegial or representative bureaucracy, punishment-centered bureaucracy, and mock bureaucracy.

The review of literature relevant to the study of alienation resulted in the selection of Seeman's summarization of five identifiable types or dimensions. These five included powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. In addition to the examination of separate dimensions, the combination of all five was considered relevant.

The review of research related to the study of bureaucracy as an organizational form and of alienation in the organizational as well as in the general societal context provided theoretical support for the study of the alienation of pupils in bureaucratic schools.

The problems to be examined and the hypotheses to be tested were presented initially in the first chapter of this report. They are restated early in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

PROBLEMS, HYPOTHESES, AND RESEARCH PROCEDURES

I. PROBLEMS, HYPOTHESES, AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS

Introduction

Three specific problems were examined in this research. The first problem was concerned with the identification among operating schools of four bureaucratic types: monocratic, punishment-centered, representative or collegial, and mock. The second and third problems were concerned with differences in degree of alienation among pupils in different types of bureaucratic schools. Five dimensions of alienation were examined. These included powerlessness, self-estrangement, normlessness, meaninglessness, and isolation. Total alienation scale scores representing the sums of scores on the five dimensions were also compared.

Both matriculation and diploma program registrants were included among pupil respondents to the Pupil Attitude Questionnaire. In this study a matriculation program was defined as one leading to qualification for university entrance. A diploma program was defined as one not generally leading to university entrance.

Problems and Hypotheses

Problem 1. To determine whether or not there are

significant differences among schools in type of bureaucratic structure.

Hypothesis 1. Schools differ significantly in type of bureaucratic structure.

Problem 2. To determine whether or not there are significant differences in the degree of pupil alienation from the school on each of the dimensions and in total among schools of different types.

Hypothesis 2. The degree of pupil alienation from the school differs significantly on each dimension and in total among schools of different bureaucratic types.

Problem 3. To determine whether or not pupil alienation is significantly higher among pupils in some types of bureaucratic schools than in other types.

Hypothesis 3.0. Pupil alienation is significantly higher on each dimension and in total in schools identified as punishment-centered than in representative bureaucracies.

Hypothesis 3.1. Pupil alienation is significantly higher on each dimension and in total in schools in which the authority dimension of bureaucratic structure is emphasized than in schools in which this dimension is de-emphasized.

Hypothesis 3.2. Pupil alienation is significantly low on each dimension and in total in those schools categorized as representative or collegial bureaucracies.

Significance Levels

In all tests of significance in this study a criterion level of 0.05 was maintained. Nevertheless, probability levels were frequently reported. This inclusion, although not absolutely necessary, provides a more accurate result of these significance tests than would the simpler acceptance or rejection using the 0.05 criterion.

II. THE MEASUREMENT OF BUREAUCRATIC CHARACTERISTICS IN SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Instrumentation

The School Organization Inventory¹ was administered to teachers in each of the schools in the sample. This instrument was originally developed by Hall², adapted for use in schools by MacKay³, and modified by Robinson and MacKay.⁴ Respondents were not required to respond to items 49 - 54 of the scale.

Reliability. The original instrument developed by

¹See Appendix A.

²Richard H. Hall, "Interorganizational Structural Variation: Application of the Bureaucratic Model," Administrative Science Quarterly, VII (1962-63), 295-308.

³D. A. MacKay, "An Empirical Study of Bureaucratic Dimensions and Their Relation to the Characteristics of School Organizations" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1964).

⁴Norman Robinson, "A Study of the Professional Role Orientations of Teachers and Principals and Their Relationship to Bureaucratic Characteristics of School Organizations" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, The University of Alberta, Edmonton).

Hall was reported to have a split-half reliability coefficient greater than 0.80.⁵ MacKay reported split-half reliabilities of 0.80 or higher for each of the subscales in the sixty-two item inventory.⁶

Validity. Following analysis in this research of the data provided by teacher responses to items in the scale, the structural profiles of eleven of the twelve schools selected for additional study were presented to the principals of those schools for their consideration. Ten of the eleven principals accepted and gave additional evidence to provide support for the profiles for their schools.⁷

Description. The Inventory contained a total of forty-eight items to each of which five response categories were provided.⁸ Responses to the items were used to provide data for the combination of subscales hierarchy of authority, rules for members, procedural specifications, impersonality, specialization, and technical competence. The first four of these subscales were combined to form a dimension identified in this study as an authority dimension. The last two subscales were combined and identified as an expertise dimension.

⁵Hall, loc. cit.

⁶MacKay, loc. cit., p. 47.

⁷Infra, p. 124.

⁸See Appendix A.

Product-Moment Correlations Between Subscales. Further justification for the combination of subscales is presented in Table I. Overall subscales II and VI correlated significantly and positively with each other but significantly and negatively with the other subscales. Similarly, subscales I, III, IV and V correlated significantly and positively with each other but significantly and negatively with subscales II and VI. The examination of data for each school showed negative correlations for most schools and positive correlations for only one school.

TABLE I
PRODUCT-MOMENT INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN OBSERVED
BUREAUCRATIC SCORES USING THE ORIGINAL
PLACEMENT OF ITEMS BY SUBSCALE

(N=403)

Scale	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I	1.000					
II	-.389	1.000				
III	.515	-.109	1.000			
IV	.707	-.326	.542	1.000		
V	.291	-.117	.337	.382	1.000	
VI	-.383	.440	-.196	-.402	-.178	1.000

Placement of Items in the Authority and Expertise Dimensions. Originally the scale was claimed to have six dimensions with items grouped within dimensions as follows:

- (1) Hierarchy of Authority: 1, 7, 12, 23, 31,
34, 38, 39, 43, 47.

- (2) Rules for Members: 3, 9, 14, 18, 25, 29, 40, 44.
- (3) Procedural Specifications: 4, 15, 19, 35, 41, 45, 48.
- (4) Impersonality: 5, 10, 16, 20, 27, 36, 42, 46.
- (5) Specialization: 2, 8, 13, 22, 24, 30, 33.
- (6) Technical Competence: 6, 11, 17, 21, 26, 28, 32, 37.

The factor analysis profile shown in Appendix B indicates that the original placement of items was not empirically justified. However, when sub-dimensions were combined to form the dimensions authority and expertise, the factor analysis strongly supported the combination of items described below with a few exceptions. When factors 1, 3, 4, and 6 were combined to form an authority dimension and factors 2 and 5 an expertise dimension, only items 16, 20, 22, 24, 27, and 33 appeared to be misplaced. The factor match of varimax rotations for these data and the data from a previous study indicated instability of these items between the authority and the expertise dimensions. The placement of these items, therefore, was based primarily upon the direct validity of the item and secondarily upon less than optimum factorial support. In succeeding studies using this scale, these items might well be omitted.

In this study the authority dimension was measured by

the items in the first four of the subscales listed above with item 4 deleted. The expertise dimension was measured by the items in subscales 5 and 6 above with item 4 added. The shift of item 4 was based upon its heavy loading in the factor analyses of the data from the administration of this scale.

Sample of Schools Examined for Structural Characteristics

Operating public high schools in Alberta in 1966-67 were categorized according to total enrolment⁹ in the three grades: ten, eleven and twelve. Schools with fewer than one hundred pupils were not included in the population of schools from which a sample was to be drawn. The remaining high schools were identified as small if total enrolment was between 101 and 400 pupils, and large if the total enrolment exceeded 400. From ninety-two small high schools, ten were randomly¹⁰ selected. Similarly from thirty-three large high schools, ten were randomly selected.

In the group of ten small schools the total enrolment in five schools was within the range 101-200, in three schools within the range 201-300, and in two schools within the range 301-400. Among the ten large schools there was one school in

⁹Downey used enrolment as a criterion for typing schools. See L. W. Downey, The Small High School in Alberta (Edmonton: The Alberta School Trustees Association, 1965).

¹⁰The Table of Random Numbers Table XXIII in Helen M. Walker and Joseph Lev, Statistical Inference (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953), p. 280 was used wherever random selection was used in this study.

each of the total enrolment ranges 401-500, 501-600, 601-700, 1301-1400, 1401-1500, and 1801-1900. The enrolment in two large schools was within the range 1101-1200, and in two more within the range 1501-1600. These data are presented in Table II.

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS IN THE STUDY SAMPLE BY
TYPE AND BY ENROLMENT IN GRADES 10, 11, 12

(N=20)

Type	Enrolment	Number of Schools
Small	101 - 200	5
	201 - 300	3
	301 - 400	2
Large	401 - 500	1
	501 - 600	1
	601 - 700	1
	701 - 800	0
	801 - 900	0
	901 - 1000	0
	1001 - 1100	0
	1101 - 1200	2
	1201 - 1300	0
	1301 - 1400	1
	1401 - 1500	1
	1501 - 1600	2
	1601 - 1700	0
	1701 - 1800	0
	1801 - 1900	1

These two samples of ten schools from each of the two categories: large and small, were compared with the distribution of schools categorized according to total enrolment in the

population from which the samples were drawn.¹¹ For the sample of ten small high school $\chi^2 = 1.068$, did not exceed the criterion ($\alpha = 0.05$). The sample was considered representative. For the ten large schools $\chi^2 = 10.354$, did not exceed the criterion ($\alpha = 0.05$). This sample was also considered representative. The data for these tests are shown in Appendix C.

Data Collection

All schools identified in the sample agreed to participate in the study. The School Organization Inventory was administered to all teachers in eight of the ten small schools. In the remaining two schools only junior and senior high school teachers were asked to respond. In the large schools all teachers responded if the total number of teachers was twenty-five or fewer. If the number of teachers exceeded twenty-five, a random sample of twenty-five teachers was asked to respond to items in the Inventory. A teacher was defined as a staff member teaching twenty credits or more. Temporary, part-time, and substitute teachers were not included in the sample. Principals and vice-principals were also excluded. Table III indicates the total number of teachers to whom the Inventory was presented and the number of teachers who returned completed and usable response sheets. A teacher response sheet was considered unusable if more than three

¹¹Walker and Lev, op. cit., p. 84.

items were unanswered. When three or fewer responses were omitted by the teacher, the median response was entered.¹²

TABLE III
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TEACHERS IN THE SELECTED
SAMPLE WHO RETURNED USABLE QUESTIONNAIRES

Type of School	Possible	Number Actual	Percentage Return
Small	204	193	94.6
Large	244	210	86.1
Total	448	403	90.0

Data Analyses

Teachers responded on the General Purpose Answer Sheet I included in Appendix D. These answer sheets were scored by an optical scorer which provided coded data cards. The coded cards were decoded; items were re-arranged and re-scored by computer through services available from the Division of Educational Research Services, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta.

Several samples of data were factor analyzed using the principal axis method followed by quartimax, varimax, and equamax rotations.

¹²See C. A. Moser, Survey Methods in Social Investigation (London: William Heinemann, 1958), p. 270.

...with ... of
... .. the

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE OF TEACHERS IN THE ...
... ..

Type of ...	Number		Percent
	Actual	Expected	
...	195	200	97.5
...	210	210	100.0
Total	405	410	98.8

APPENDIX

Teachers ... on the ...
... I included in Appendix B. These ...
... by an optical scanner which ...
... data recorded, ...
... through ...
... Research ...
... University of ...
... data ...
... method ...
... ..

Winer's¹³ Model I was used for a single-factor analysis of variance of school scores for the authority and expertise dimensions. Symbolically the model is:¹⁴

$$X_{ij} = \mu + \tau_j + \epsilon_{ij},$$

where X_{ij} is the criterion measure on a randomly selected element i in treatment population j ,

μ is the grand mean of the populations,
 τ_j is the effect of treatment j ,
 ϵ_{ij} is experimental error.

Analysis of variance provides a test to determine whether or not:

$$\tau_1 = \tau_2 = \dots = \tau_k.$$

The Hartley test for homogeneity of variances was conducted for all analyses of variance. The results of these tests have not been included for two reasons. First, many of the tests proved that homogeneity requirements were met, and second, because in those cases in which the criterion was exceeded, deviations from homogeneity were not extreme. The decision to exclude the results of these tests is based upon Guilford's comment that "only marked differences in variance are serious."¹⁵

Reports of tests of goodness of fit of the distributions of subtotal and total scale scores have also been deleted for the same reason. Guilford states that "F is rather insensitive

¹³B. J. Winer, Statistical Principles in Experimental Design (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962), pp. 46 ff.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁵J. P. Guilford, Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 300.

to variations in shape of population distribution",¹⁶ and also for the Pearson \underline{r} , "forms of the distributions may vary so long as they are fairly symmetrical and unimodal."¹⁷

To determine where differences between means occurred, Newman-Keuls tests were conducted following the test of all hypothesis that $\gamma_1 = \gamma_2 = \dots \gamma_k$.

The Newman-Keuls test¹⁸ involves the ordering of means and the separate comparison of each pair of these ordered means. Thus if $\bar{T}_1, \bar{T}_2, \dots \bar{T}_j^1$ represent the ordered means of the distributions being compared with \bar{T}_1 being largest and \bar{T}_j^1 the smallest mean, each pair of means is compared separately. In the ordered list of means, any pair is considered $j - j^1 + 1$ steps apart, where j is the position of the larger and j^1 the smaller. The comparison of means involves the calculation of q_r as shown below, when there are unequal n 's.

$$q_r = \frac{\bar{T}_j - \bar{T}_j^1}{\sqrt{\text{MS error}/\tilde{n}}},$$

where \bar{T} is the mean for a group,

MS error is obtained in the F test,

j is the position of the larger mean,

j^1 is the position of the smaller mean,

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 108.

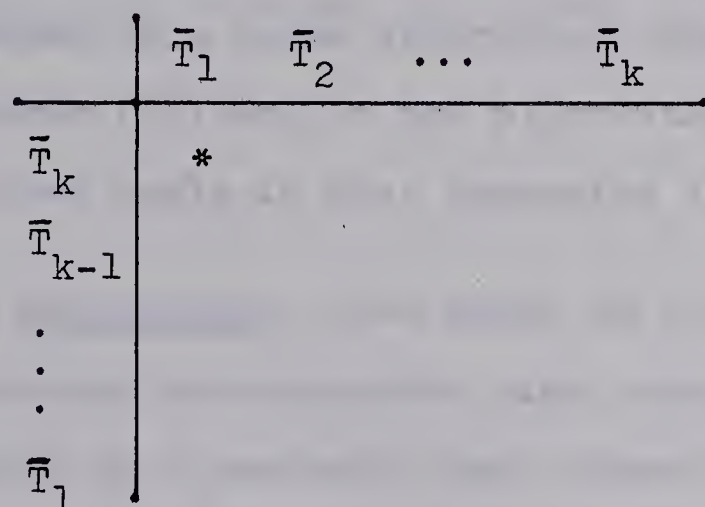
¹⁸Winer, op. cit., pp. 80, 103.

$$\tilde{n} = \frac{K}{(1/n_1) + (1/n_2) + \dots (1/n_x)}$$

K = total number of groups being compared,

$$r = j - j^1 + 1.$$

Critical values for the q_r statistic are provided by the studentized range statistic. If q_r calculated is greater than the criterion value, then the two means being compared are significantly different. The method of reporting the test is shown below:



An asterisk indicates a significant difference between means. In the example shown here \bar{T}_1 is significantly larger than \bar{T}_k . Among the various tests of this kind, the Newman-Keuls is a reasonably conservative test.

III. THE MEASUREMENT OF ALIENATION

Instrumentation

A search of the literature failed to provide a scale suitable for the measurement of alienation of high school pupils. It was decided therefore that a new scale should be

developed. Using criteria described in Appendix E one hundred sixty-seven items were written. These items were presented to a panel of judges including two members of the thesis committee and twelve graduate students, ten in educational administration and two in secondary education. Numerous items were reworded, several were deleted, and several were added, resulting in the selection of one hundred sixty-four items to be administered to a group of one hundred sixty-three pupils in grades ten, eleven, and twelve, all in attendance in a large urban high school. The report of procedures followed in the pilot study to select the final sixty-item scale is also presented in Appendix E.

Reliability. The scale in its final form was administered to ninety-two high school pupils on two occasions separated by a one-week time interval. Coefficients of stability were calculated for each of the subscales and for the total scale by correlating subtotal and total scores from the first with those from the second responses of pupils. These coefficients are reported below in Table IV. Each coefficient is highly significantly different from zero.

To determine the internal consistency of the scale, items were correlated with subtotal and with total scale scores. These were subsequently factor analyzed and the varimax matrix was matched with the varimax matrix obtained from the factor analysis of the pilot study data. Strong support for item by subscale placement was obtained.¹⁸

¹⁸Infra., Appendix F.

TABLE IV
PRODUCT-MOMENT COEFFICIENTS OF STABILITY FOR
SUBSCALES AND TOTAL ALIENATION SCALE
(N = 92)

Subscale	Coefficient of Stability*
Powerlessness	0.734
Self-Estrangement	0.737
Normlessness	0.706
Meaninglessness	0.625
Isolation	0.659
Total Scale	0.790

* - All significant $P < 0.01$

Scores on each of the subscales were also correlated with scores on the other subscales and the total scale. These correlations were all positive and significantly different from zero with the exception of the correlation between the meaninglessness and isolation subscales. Table V indicates these values of the correlation coefficients.

TABLE V
PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS OF SCORES FOR EACH
SUBSCALE AND FOR THE TOTAL SCALE
(N = 1764)

	SE*	N	M	I	T
Powerlessness	0.521	0.459	0.144	0.195	0.771
Self-Estrangement		0.549	0.134	0.319	0.786
Normlessness			0.154	0.282	0.771
Meaninglessness				0.045	0.448
Isolation					0.443

* - Self-Estrangement, and other subscales; T represents Total Scale.

Validity. In Appendix E¹⁹ four types of validity were proposed as being relevant to the development of the alienation scale used in this study. Content validity, the adequacy of the sampling of a specified universe of content, was provided for in two ways. A large number of items representing a wide variety of relationships between the pupil and his school was used in the pilot study. A multiple correlational analysis of the predictive validity of combinations of items indicated that maximum validity was achieved for each sub-scale with four to six items. It was decided to increase this number to twelve items for three subscales, to ten for one, and to fourteen for one subscale. This increase in the number of items was considered essential to ensure that a reasonable degree of scale reliability could be achieved.

Judgmental procedures were used to attempt to assure the face validity, what the test appears to measure, of items, subscales, and the total scale.²⁰ Judges included two members of the thesis committee and twelve graduate students in the Faculty of Education.

Factorial validity, the correlation between an item and the factor common to a group of items, was determined via several factor analyses as reported in Appendicies E and F.

¹⁹Infra., p. 187 of Appendix E.

²⁰Supra., p. 102.

Construct validity, what the test means or signifies, what trait it identifies, was determined by correlating what judges said about a group of pupils with what the scale indicated. The procedure used is described immediately below.

The Pupil Attitude Questionnaire was administered to all pupils in one high school which was not one of those included in the major study sample. From the population of ninety-seven pupils who responded to the scale, ten with highest scores, ten with scores nearest the median, and ten with the lowest scores were identified by name. This list of names of thirty pupils was given to five classroom teachers on the high school staff of the school. Teachers were directed to rank these pupils on a three point scale: high, medium, or low, alienation from the school. Spearman's rho's were calculated between the ranking of pupils provided by the scale, the rankings given by each teacher and the combination of the rankings of the five teachers. The rho's between teacher and scale ranking of pupils ranged from 0.467 to 0.633. The rho between the scale ranks and the combination of teacher ranks was 0.724. The lowest rho, 0.465, is significantly different from zero at less than the 0.001 level, two-tailed. The rho's are shown in Table VI below.

Kendall's coefficient of concordance was calculated to determine the degree of agreement between the teacher-judges. W was found to be 0.659, with $\chi^2 = 95.580$ with 29 degrees of freedom. The value is significantly different from zero at less than the 0.001 level.

TABLE VI

SPEARMAN'S RANK CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN
SCALE RANKING AND TEACHER-JUDGE RANKING
OF THE ALIENATION OF PUPILS

	SCALE	JUDGE				
		1	2	3	4	5
Judge 1	0.467					
Judge 2	0.551	0.496				
Judge 3	0.633	0.662	0.539			
Judge 4	0.578	0.510	0.483	0.660		
Judge 5	0.562	0.465	0.583	0.703	0.636	
Combination of Judges	0.724	0.744	0.718	0.881	0.812	0.821

This test of construct validity indicated that there was an acceptable degree of correlation between the expressed attitudes of pupils and the attitudes of pupils inferred by their teachers from their observation of pupil behavior.

Description. The instrument used to measure pupil alienation was entitled the Pupil Attitude Questionnaire.²¹ It consisted of sixty Likert-type²² items representing the five subscales: powerlessness, self-estrangement, normlessness,

²¹See Appendix G.

²²David Krech and Richard Crutchfield, Theory and Problems of Social Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948), p. 206-207.

meaninglessness, and isolation. The questionnaire presented statements to the subject and the subject was requested to indicate his reaction to each statement by selecting one of the five responses strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, and strongly disagree. Responses were scored in three different ways, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1; 1, 3, 5, 3, 1; or 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, depending upon the relationship of the content of the statement to the particular subscale. Accompanying the questionnaire were directions to the teacher to assure standardization of procedures used in its administration, and directions to the pupil respondents, including descriptions of the response categories and directions regarding the recording of responses on the prepared answer sheets. Pupils were able to respond to all items in the questionnaire within a period of twenty to thirty minutes.

Acceptable criterion levels of reliability and validity were met by the scale.

Throughout this report the terms "questionnaire" and "scale" are used synonymously when referring to this instrument.

Data Collection

Twelve schools in which there were significant structural differences were chosen as the sample of schools in which the Pupil Attitude Questionnaire was to be administered. These differences are shown in Figure 10 on page 123 of this report. In each of these twelve schools the scale was administered to randomly selected classes of pupils in grades 10, 11 and 12 as

shown in Appendix H. A pupil response sheet was considered unusable if more than three items were unanswered. When three or fewer responses were omitted, the median response was entered for the unanswered items.²³

In one of the twelve schools in this sample the majority of pupils were registered in a diploma program. In two other schools questionnaires were administered only to pupils registered in matriculation programs. These deviations in sample character were given consideration in the analysis of data from the alienation scale.

Data Analyses

To compare pupil alienation scores among schools one-way analyses of variance followed by the Newman-Keuls comparison of means were used.

²³See Moser, loc. cit.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION:

BUREAUCRATIC SCHOOLS

I. INTRODUCTION

The problem investigated in this analysis was whether or not there were significant differences among schools in type of bureaucratic structure. Data for analysis were provided by teacher responses to items in the School Organization Inventory. A summary of the data obtained is reported in Appendix J. The hypothesis tested was (1), that schools differ significantly in type of bureaucratic structure.

II. ANALYSIS OF BUREAUCRACY SCALE SCORES

Findings

One-way analyses of variance were used to determine whether or not there were differences on the authority and the expertise dimensions among the ten large schools, the ten small schools, and the combination of twenty schools. Newman-Keuls comparisons of means were conducted following each analysis of variance. In the summary tables for these tests school numbers are given in the order of the magnitude of the scores of the dimension being examined. The school with the highest score is first in the row reading from left to right. An asterisk in the Newman-Keuls summary tables indicates a significant difference at the 0.05 or better level.

Among the ten large schools significant differences were found on both dimensions (Table VII). The Newman-Keuls test demonstrated that authority dimension scores

TABLE VII
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SCHOOL SCORES ON THE
AUTHORITY AND THE EXPERTISE DIMENSIONS OF
BUREAUCRACY AMONG LARGE SCHOOLS
(Number of Schools = 10)

Dimension	Source	Mean Square	df	F	P
Authority	Between	1000.43	9	5.60	0.0000
	Within	178.68	200		
Expertise	Between	174.30	9	3.54	0.0004
	Within	49.29	200		

for schools 18 and 12 were significantly higher than these scores for schools 17, 19, 20, 13, and 15. This score for school 11 was significantly higher than for schools 17 and 19, (Table VIII). Expertise scores for schools 14, 15, and 12 were higher than for school 18. The score for school 14 was also higher than the score for school 11. (Table IX).

TABLE VIII

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEAN SCORES ON THE
AUTHORITY DIMENSION OF BUREAUCRACY BETWEEN LARGE
SCHOOLS

School Number	18	12	11	16	14	15	13	20	19	17
17	*	*	*							
19	*	*	*							
20	*	*								
13	*	*								
15	*	*								
14										

* - Significant at 0.05 or better.

TABLE IX

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEAN SCORES ON THE
EXPERTISE DIMENSION OF BUREAUCRACY BETWEEN LARGE
SCHOOLS

School Number	14	15	12	19	13	20	16	17	11	18
18	*	*	*							
11	*									

* - Significant at 0.05 or better.

Among the ten small schools the analysis of variance of authority dimension scores showed differences to be significant at the 0.17 level, which did not meet the 0.05 criterion selected as being minimal for this study. (Table X). Nevertheless the Newman-Keuls test showed that the score for school 6 was significantly higher than for school 3. (Table XI). Scores on the expertise dimension were found to be significantly different. (Table X). The Newman-Keuls test indicated that the expertise dimension score for school 5 was significantly higher than this score for school 1. (Table XII).

TABLE X

ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF SCHOOL SCORES ON THE
AUTHORITY AND THE EXPERTISE DIMENSIONS OF
BUREAUCRACY AMONG SMALL SCHOOLS
(Number of Schools = 10)

Dimension	Source	Mean Square	df	F	P
Authority	Between	301.20	9	1.45	0.1713
	Within	208.27	183		
Expertise	Between	99.24	9	1.93	0.0497
	Within	51.33	183		

TABLE XI

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEAN SCORES ON THE
AUTHORITY DIMENSION OF BUREAUCRACY BETWEEN
SMALL SCHOOLS

School Number	6	4	9	2	8	10	1	5	7	3
3	*									
7										
5										

* - Significant at 0.05 or better.

TABLE XII

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEAN SCORES ON THE
EXPERTISE DIMENSION OF BUREAUCRACY BETWEEN
SMALL SCHOOLS

School Number	5	4	7	3	9	8	10	2	6	1
1	*									
6										
2										

* - Significant at 0.05 or better.

When the scores on the two dimensions, authority and expertise, were compared for all twenty schools, significant differences were found. (Table XIII). The Newman-Keuls test comparing authority dimension scores showed scores for schools 6 and 18 to be higher than for schools 17, 19, 20, 13, 3, and 15. Scores for schools 12, 4, 9, 2, and 11 were higher than for schools 17 and 19. The score for school 12 was also higher than for schools 20 and 13. (Table XIV). Schools 14, 5, 15, and 12 scored higher than schools 1 and 18 on the expertise dimension. The score for school 14 was also higher than for school 6 and for school 19 higher than for school 1. (Table XV).

TABLE XIII

ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF SCHOOL SCORES ON THE
AUTHORITY AND THE EXPERTISE DIMENSIONS OF
BUREAUCRACY AMONG ALL SAMPLE SCHOOLS
(Number of Schools = 20)

Dimension	Source	Mean Square	df	F	P
Authority	Between	706.3703	19	3.6634	<0.001
	Within	192.8162	383		
Expertise	Between	167.5203	19	3.3329	<0.001
	Within	50.2630	383		

TABLE XIV

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEAN SCORES ON THE
AUTHORITY DIMENSION OF BUREAUCRACY BETWEEN SMALL AND
LARGE SCHOOLS

School Number	6	18	12	4	9	2	11	8	10	1	5	7	16	14	15	3	13	20	19	17
17	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*												
19	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*												
20	*	*	*																	
13	*	*	*																	
3	*	*																		
15	*	*																		
14																				

* - Significant at 0.05 or better.

TABLE XV

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEAN SCORES ON THE
EXPERTISE DIMENSION OF BUREAUCRACY BETWEEN SMALL AND
LARGE SCHOOLS

School Number	14	5	15	12	19	13	20	16	4	7	17	3	9	8	11	2	10	6	18	1
1	*	*	*	*	*	*														
18	*	*	*	*	*	*														
6	*																			
10																				
2																				
11																				

* - Significant at 0.05 or better.

Discussion

The typology of bureaucratic organizations presented earlier in this report¹ required that a monocratic bureaucracy have high scores on both the authority and the expertise dimensions. A collegial or representative bureaucracy required a high expertise score but a low authority score. A punishment-centered bureaucracy required a high authority score but a low expertise score. Finally, a mock bureaucracy required low scores on both the authority and on the expertise dimensions of bureaucracy. Operationally, high and low were defined in terms of significance levels. If a score was significantly higher than another score, it was considered high, the other low. A medium category was introduced to include those scores which were not significantly different from others. Schools were classified by superimposing this typology on a graphical plotting of school scores on the authority and expertise dimensions as indicated in Figures 8 to 11. The positions of the lines separating high, medium, and low ranges was based upon the Newman-Keuls tests of means for a group of schools.

It is recognized that the categorization of a school using the method described above was based upon comparisons with other schools in a selected grouping. Differences occurring when only large or small schools were compared

¹Supra, p. 36.

and when these two groups of schools were combined were not identical. It is also recognized that only school structures were involved in these comparisons. If the organizational structure of these schools were to be compared with structures of other types of organizations, the relative position of all of these schools would likely shift. Etzioni's² comparison of various kinds of organizations gives some indication that the shift might be to a lower range for all schools on the authority dimension and perhaps a shift higher on the expertise dimension.

Bureaucracy in Large Schools. The comparison of large school scores on the authority and the expertise dimensions of bureaucracy resulted in the categorization of these schools as shown in Figure 7. School 12 was typical of the monocratic bureaucracy. Schools 11 and 18 were typical of the punishment-centered bureaucracy. School 15 was typical of the collegial or representative bureaucracy. None of these ten schools could be classified as a mock bureaucracy.

The remaining six schools had scores which prevented their unrestricted identification with a particular type. However, empirically the remaining six schools: 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, and 20, tended to be similar to representative or collegial bureaucracies.

²Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), p. 23 ff.

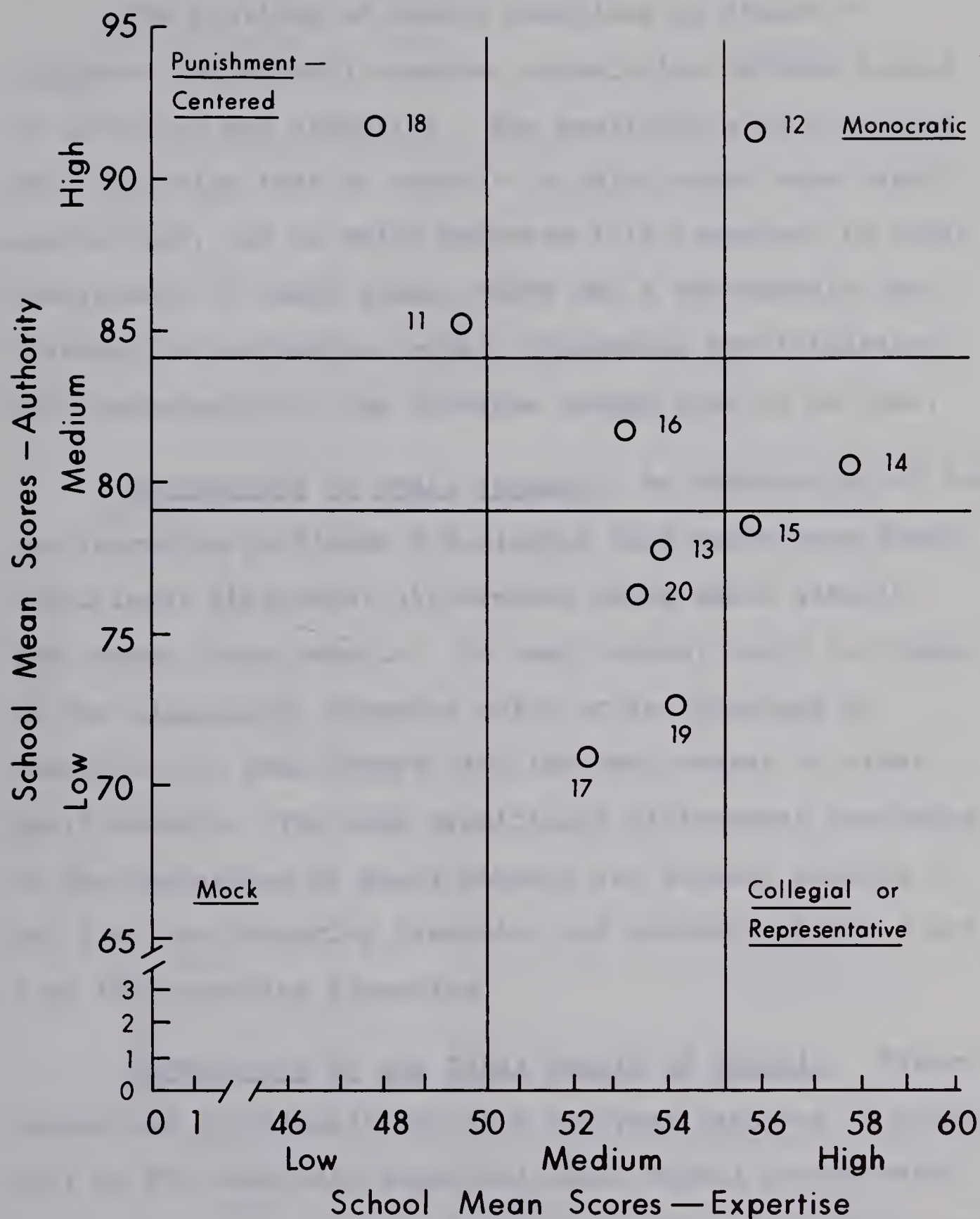


FIGURE 7

RANKING OF LARGE SCHOOLS ON STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS AUTHORITY AND EXPERTISE

The plotting of school positions in Figure 7 supported the overall negative correlation between scores on authority and expertise. The positions also supported the conclusion that in schools in which tasks were highly specialized, and in which teachers felt competent in their achievement of these tasks, there was a de-emphasis upon hierarchical authority, rules, procedural specifications, and impersonality. The converse tended also to be true.

Bureaucracy in Small Schools. An examination of the configuration in Figure 8 indicates that there were fewer significant structural differences among small schools than among large schools. No small school could be placed in the diagonally opposite cells of the typology by comparing its mean scores with the mean scores of other small schools. The only significant differences occurring in the comparison of small schools was between schools 6 and 3 on the authority dimension and between schools 5 and 1 on the expertise dimension.

Bureaucracy in the Total Sample of Schools. Figure 9 summarizes graphically the data analyses reported in Tables XIII to XV. When both large and small school scores were compared on the authority and the expertise dimensions, the overall negative correlation between scores on these factors was again illustrated. Five of the twenty schools fell in the diagonally opposite cells. School 12 remained typical

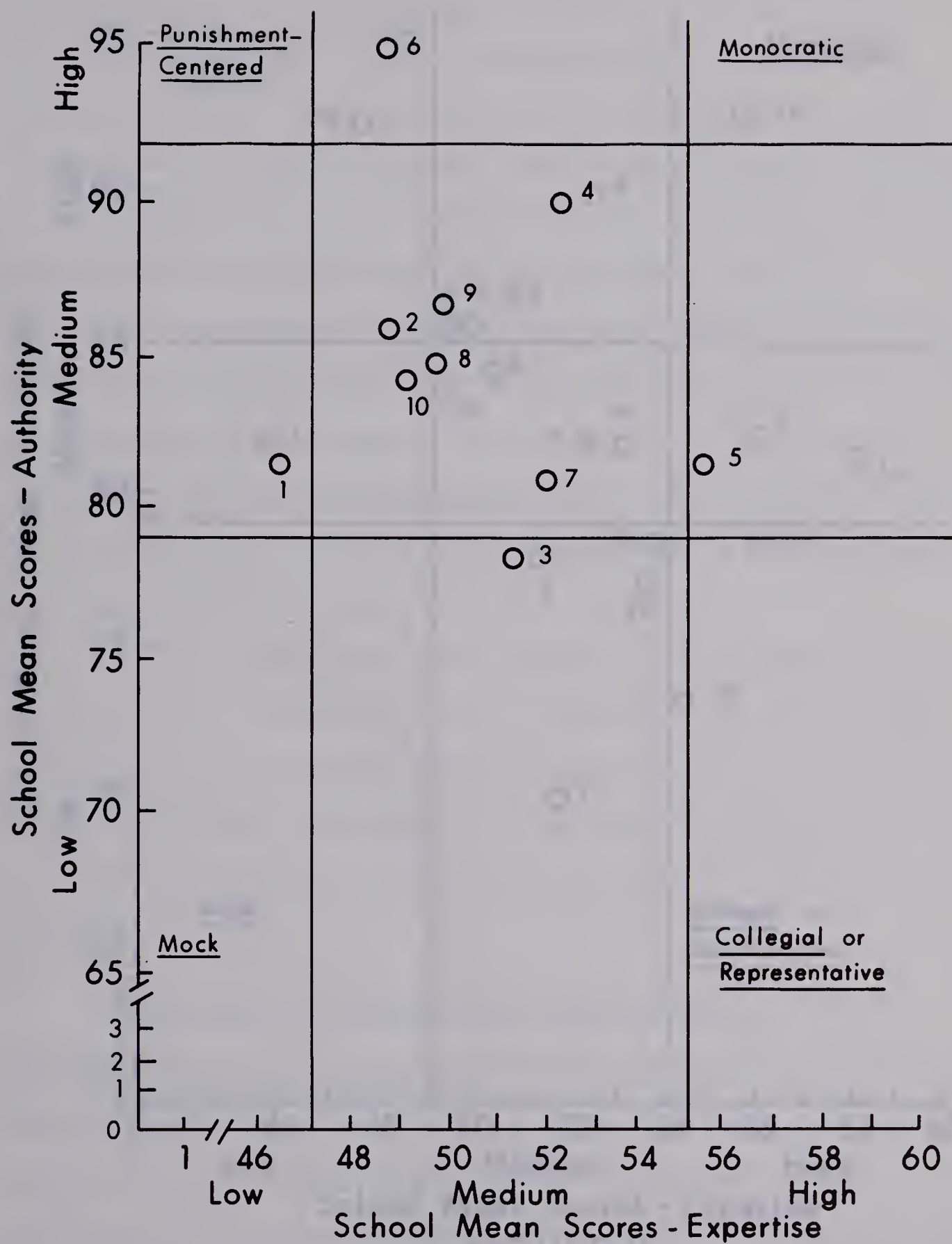


FIGURE 8

RANKING OF SMALL SCHOOLS ON STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS AUTHORITY AND EXPERTISE

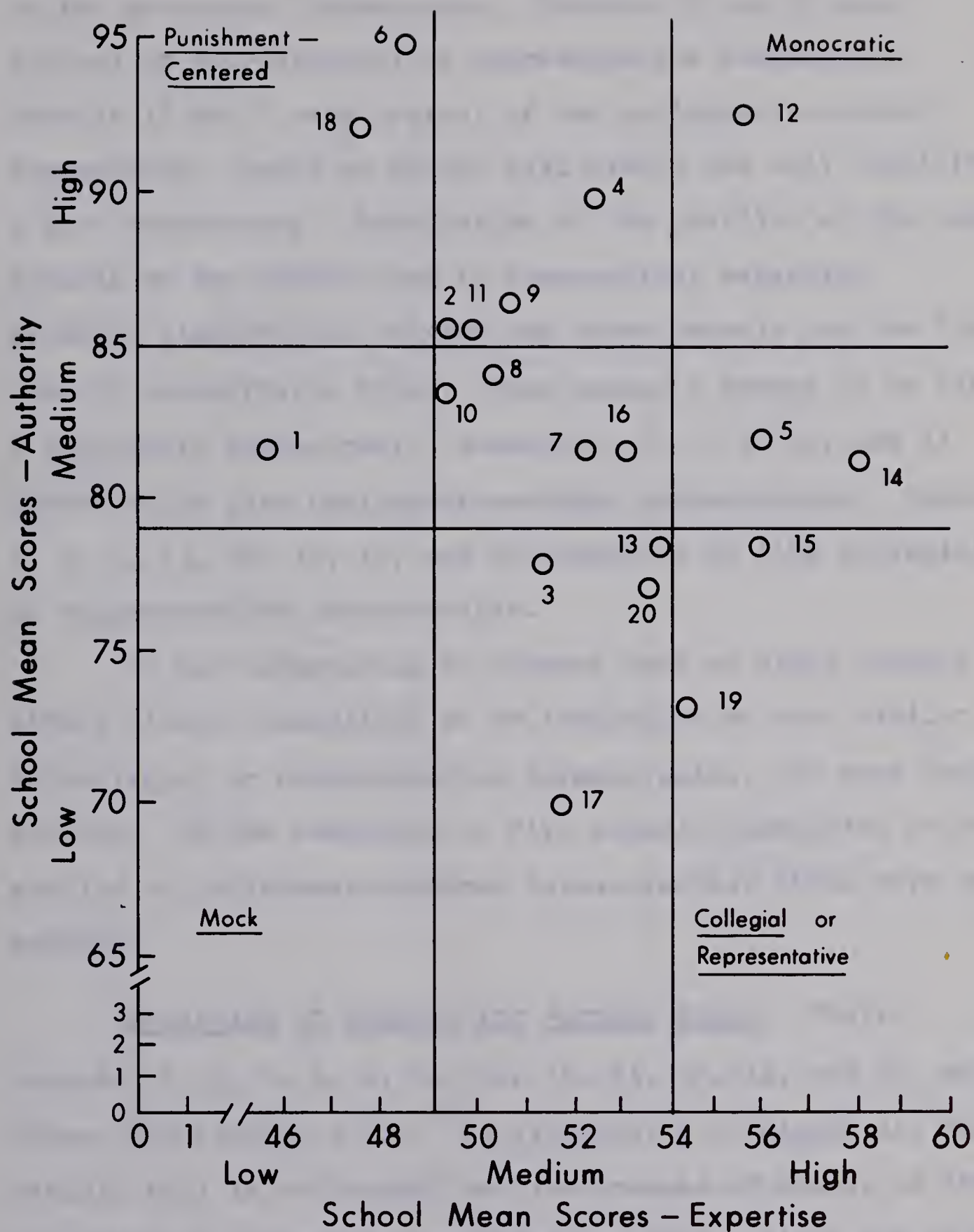


FIGURE 9

RANKING OF LARGE AND SMALL SCHOOLS ON
STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS AUTHORITY AND
EXPERTISE

of the monocratic bureaucracy. Schools 15 and 19 were typical of the collegial or representative bureaucracy. Schools 18 and 6 were typical of the punishment-centered bureaucracy. Again no school fell within the cell identifying a mock bureaucracy. Examination of the position of the other schools on the profile led to observations regarding probable similarities between the other schools and the four clearly identifiable types. Thus school 4 tended to be like a monocratic bureaucracy. Schools 1, 2, 8, 9, 10, and 11 tended to be like punishment-centered bureaucracies. Schools 3, 5, 7, 13, 14, 16, 17, and 20 tended to be like collegial or representative bureaucracies.

It was interesting to observe that of eight schools either clearly classified as or tending to be most similar to collegial or representative bureaucracies, six were large schools. On the contrary, of five schools classified as or similar to punishment-centered bureaucracies, three were small schools.

Selection of Schools for Further Study. Twelve schools, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, and 19, were chosen for further study. As illustrated in Figure 10, these schools fell in the "high" or "low" ranges of scores on the authority or expertise dimensions, or both. Since the major hypothesis to be tested related to pupil attitudes in schools varying in structural characteristics, it was considered imperative that a school structure as perceived by teachers

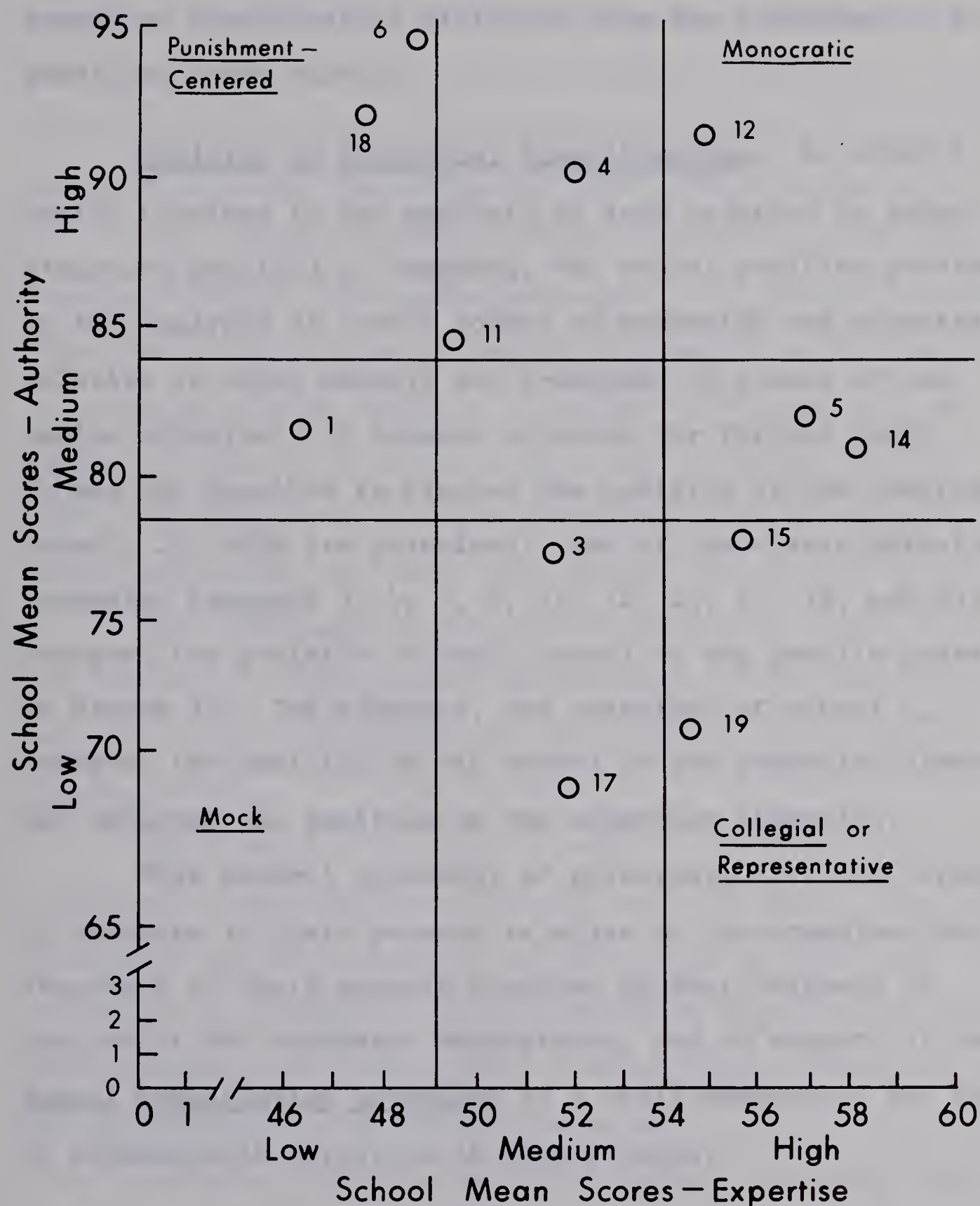


FIGURE 10

RANKING OF SCHOOLS SELECTED FOR FURTHER
STUDY ON STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS
AUTHORITY AND EXPERTISE

indeed be significantly different from the structure of at least one other school.

Validity of Structural Classification. In order to verify findings in the analysis of data relative to school structure supplied by teachers, the school position provided by the analysis of school scores on authority and expertise relative to other schools was presented to eleven of the twelve principals of schools selected for further study. It was not possible to discuss the position of the twelfth school, 14, with its principal. Ten of the eleven principals contacted (schools 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, and 19) accepted the position of their school on the profile presented in Figure 10. The eleventh, the principal of school 1, accepted the position of his school on the authority dimension but rejected the position on the expertise dimension.

This general agreement of principals with the perceptions of teachers in their schools relative to the organizational structure of their schools provided further evidence in support of the teachers' perceptions, and in support of the School Organization Inventory as a valid measure of the type of bureaucratic structure in high schools.

III. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS RELATIVE TO BUREAUCRACY IN SCHOOLS

Significant differences were found between school scores on the authority dimension including the subdimensions

hierarchy of authority, rules, procedural specifications, and impersonality. Significant differences were also found between school scores on the expertise dimension including the subdimensions specialization and technical competence.

There tended to be an overall negative correlation between authority and expertise scores. In schools in which there was a high degree of specialization and a self-perception of competence among teachers to achieve these specialized tasks, it was perceived by teachers that emphasis upon hierarchical authority, rules, procedural specifications, and impersonality was low. The converse was also true.

Only one school was perceived by the teachers to be most typical of a monocratic bureaucracy. This classification was one of those confirmed, quite emphatically in fact, by the principal.

Large schools appeared to vary to a greater extent in structural characteristics than did small schools. More large than small schools tended to be classified in the type identified as collegial or representative bureaucracy. More small schools than large schools tended to be classified in the type punishment-centered bureaucracy.

No school was clearly identified as typifying a mock bureaucracy.

The findings support Bidwell's assumption that all schools are bureaucratic, and his suggestion that there is structural looseness in school bureaucracies. If structural

looseness is defined as a de-emphasis upon the authority dimension of bureaucracy as this dimension is described in this study, then this looseness would be typified in schools categorized as collegial or representative bureaucracies. Structural looseness is not to be equated with ineffectiveness or inefficiency in the organization. The authority dimension in schools was de-emphasized only in those schools in which the emphasis on the expertise dimension was high.

Empirical support was found for the identification of Weber's monocratic and collegial bureaucracies. Gouldner's bureaucratic types as partly re-defined in this study also were empirically identified.

Therefore it seems reasonable to conclude that all schools are bureaucratic, but that they may differ in type of bureaucracy. It seems reasonable also to consider that since there appears to be a strong interaction between the expertise and the authority dimensions, the type of bureaucracy in an organization can be manipulated relatively easily. By increasing specialization of functions and employing highly competent persons to fulfill these functions, and by decreasing the emphasis upon the authority dimension, the organizational manipulator may change a punishment-centered to a representative or collegial bureaucracy. The converse should also be true.

Should the structure of the school be changed from one type to another? At this point it must be conceded that the answer is not known. This question will, however, be re-examined in the discussion of findings in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION: PUPIL ALIENATION IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF BUREAUCRATIC SCHOOLS

I. INTRODUCTION

The problem investigated in these analyses was whether or not there were significant differences in degree of alienation among pupils attending different types of bureaucratic schools. Data for analysis was provided by the responses of pupils to items in the Pupil Attitude Questionnaire.

Several hypotheses were tested in these analyses.

2. The degree of pupil alienation from the school differs significantly on each dimension and in total among schools of different bureaucratic types.
- 3.0. Pupil alienation is significantly higher on each dimension and in total in schools identified as punishment-centered than in representative bureaucracies.
- 3.1. Pupil alienation on each of the dimensions and in total is significantly higher in schools in which the authority dimension of bureaucracy is emphasized than in schools in which this dimension is de-emphasized.
- 3.2. Pupil alienation is significantly low on each

dimension and in total in those schools categorized as representative or collegial bureaucracies.

II. THE DATA

Table XVI presents a summary of the mean scores for pupils in each of the schools on the alienation subscales and the total scale. The range of possible scores for each of the powerlessness, self-estrangement, and meaninglessness scales, was 12-60. For the normlessness subscale the range was 14-70, and for the isolation subscale, 10-50. The possible range for the total scale was 60-300. Mean scores for the normlessness and isolation subscales were significantly lower than mean scores for the other subscales. The variances of these two subscales were also less than for the other subscales. The variances for the isolation subscale were especially low when compared with the variances for the other subscales.

Low scores on the scale implied low alienation; high scores implied high alienation. Only the powerlessness overall mean score for all pupils was nearer the maximum than the minimum score. All other overall means including the means for the total scale were nearer the minimum than the maximum possible score.

TABLE XVI

MEAN SCORES OF PUPILS IN THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS ON THE
ALIENATION SUBSCALES AND TOTAL SCALE^a

School Number	Number of Pupils in Sample	Power- less- ness*	Self- Estrange- ment*	Norm- less- ness**	Meaning- lessness*	Isolation***	Total Scale
1	106	34.302	36.745	34.132	35.453	24.387	165.019
3	169	37.858	35.195	34.053	36.734	24.639	168.479
4	133	38.414	35.850	34.173	36.429	24.038	168.902
5	141	36.525	36.440	34.078	34.106	25.546	165.695
6	99	36.828	35.121	34.141	36.091	25.152	167.333
11	161	37.360	36.789	36.248	36.453	24.366	171.217
12	168	39.405	36.679	35.595	35.512	24.863	172.054
14	176	39.398	35.818	34.261	35.574	24.438	169.489
15	146	33.897	36.363	33.726	35.116	24.788	163.890
17	157	36.318	33.108	32.561	36.968	24.369	163.325
18	146	39.185	35.295	34.849	36.144	24.048	169.521
19	162	33.710	35.469	35.840	35.247	24.068	164.333
Total Sample	1764	37.041	35.726	34.512	35.832	24.463	167.574

* - These subscales included 12 items.

** - This subscale included 14 items.

*** - This subscale included 10 items.

^a - Standard deviations for each mean are included in Appendix I.

III. FINDINGS

Analyses were conducted on subscale and total scale alienation scores for groups of pupils in the schools selected for further study in Chapter IV.¹ The discussion which follows is separated into three sections. The sections report findings relative to pupil alienation in the seven large schools, in the five small schools, and in nine of these twelve schools. In each section reference is made to the association of alienation scores of pupils with the structural characteristics of their schools.

Pupil Alienation in Large High Schools

The analyses of bureaucratic characteristics among large schools indicated that significant differences did exist.² It was therefore possible to test the hypotheses 2, 3.0, 3.1, and 3.2, by comparing alienation scores of pupils in these large schools.

Two separate analyses of variance were conducted. This was necessary because from schools 14 and 17 only matriculation pupil responses were received and the alienation scores of pupils in diploma programs were found to be significantly higher than among pupils registered in matriculation programs.

¹Supra, p. 109 ff.

²Ibid.

Thus the analyses where $n=7$ included only matriculation pupil scores, while in those analyses in which $n=5$, scores for both matriculation and diploma pupils were included.

Relative to other large schools school 12 was identified in Chapter IV as a Weberian monocratic bureaucracy; schools 18 and 11 were identified as punishment-centered bureaucracies; and school 15 was identified as a representative bureaucracy. Schools 14, 17 and 19 were considered to be most similar in structure to the representative bureaucracy. Among these seven schools the hypothesis that pupil alienation differs significantly among schools of different types on each dimension and in total was supported for the powerlessness, self-estrangement, and normlessness subscales, but not for the meaninglessness or isolation subscales or for the total scale. (Table XVII). The Newman-Keuls comparison of ordered means indicated significant differences only on the powerlessness dimension of alienation. (Table XVIII). Powerlessness subscale scores among pupils in schools 14, 18, and 12 were significantly higher than in schools 15 and 19. Powerlessness scores among pupils in school 18 were significantly higher than in school 15; in school 11 powerlessness scores were not significantly higher than in school 15. Since no significant differences were found on the other dimensions or on the total scale, hypothesis 3.0, that pupil alienation is significantly higher on each dimension and in total in schools identified as punishment-centered than in representative

TABLE XVII

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF PUPIL ALIENATION SCORES
AMONG MATRICULATION PUPILS IN LARGE SCHOOLS
(Number of Schools = 7)

Dimension	Source	Mean Square	df	F	P
Powerlessness	Between	419.06	6	6.07	0.0000
	Within	59.05	762		
Self- estrangement*	Between	119.24	6	2.38	0.0277
	Within	50.14	762		
Normlessness*	Between	166.00	6	2.80	0.0106
	Within	59.22	762		
Meaningless- ness	Between	45.82	6	1.07	0.3767
	Within	42.68	762		
Isolation	Between	9.01	6	0.72	0.6375
	Within	12.47	762		
Total Scale	Between	682.83	6	1.35	0.2293
	Within	504.38	762		

* - Although these F ratios were significant, the Newman-Keuls tests comparing pairs of means provided statistics only approaching but not achieving significance.

bureaucracies, was only partially supported here.

Comparing only large schools, hypothesis 3.1, that pupil alienation is significantly higher on each dimension and in total in schools in which the authority dimension of bureaucratic structure is emphasized than in schools in which this dimension is de-emphasized; and hypothesis 3.2, that pupil alienation is significantly low in the representative

TABLE XVIII

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEANS OF
MATRICULATION PUPIL POWERLESSNESS SCORES
IN LARGE SCHOOLS

School Number	14	18	12	17	11	19	15
15	*	*	*				
19	*	*	*				
11							

* - Significant at 0.05 or less.

or collegial bureaucracies, was supported only on the powerlessness dimension of alienation. Figure 11 indicates the configuration occurring when structural differences among these schools were combined with differences in powerlessness scores among pupils in these schools.

In Table XIX analyses of data from the schools from which responses of both matriculation and diploma pupils were received are presented. Schools 14 and 17 which tended to be like representative bureaucracies were deleted for the reason presented above. Significant differences on the powerlessness and normlessness dimensions and in the total alienation scale scores were found. On the powerlessness dimension pupils in schools 12, 18, and 11, schools scoring high on the authority dimension, scored significantly higher than did pupils in schools 15 and 19, schools scoring low on the authority dimension. (Table XX). Pupils felt alienated to a significantly

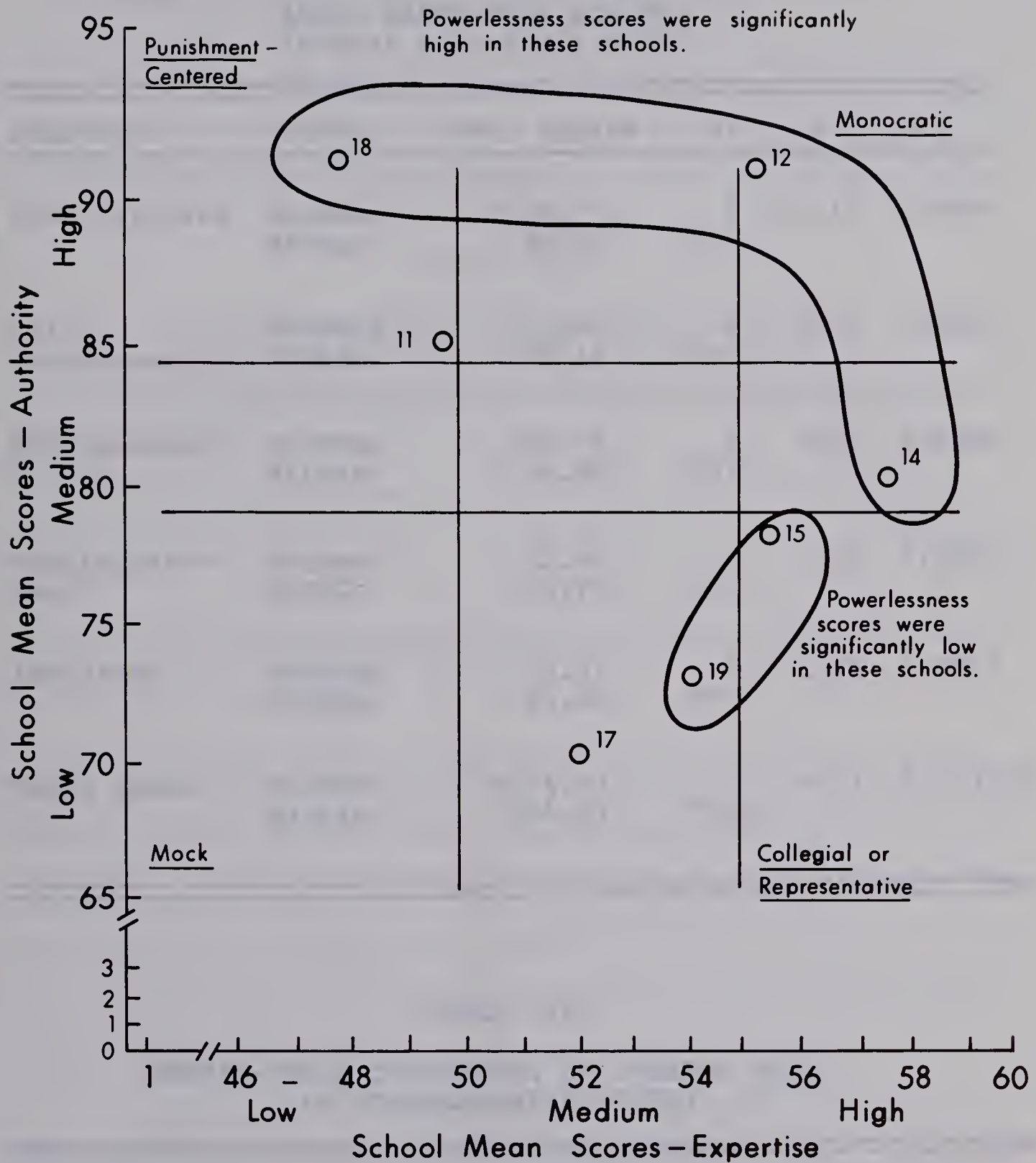


FIGURE 11

RANKING OF LARGE SCHOOLS ON STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS WITH DIFFERENCES IN POWERLESSNESS SCORES, MATRICULATION PUPILS, SUPERIMPOSED

TABLE XIX

ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF PUPIL ALIENATION SCORES
AMONG LARGE HIGH SCHOOLS
(Number of schools = 5)

Dimension	Source	Mean Square	df	F	P
Powerlessness	Between	1198.73	4	17.16	0.0000
	Within	69.85	778		
Self- estrangement	Between	75.25	4	1.56	0.1809
	Within	48.16	778		
Normlessness	Between	149.48	4	2.52	0.0394
	Within	59.20	778		
Meaningless- ness	Between	52.26	4	1.19	0.3112
	Within	43.79	778		
Isolation	Between	23.35	4	1.97	0.0961
	Within	11.84	778		
Total Scale	Between	2335.63	4	4.61	0.001152
	Within	506.43	778		

TABLE XX

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEANS
OF POWERLESSNESS SCORES

School Number	12	18	11	15	19
19	*	*	*		
15	*	*	*		
11					

* - Significant at 0.05 or less.

higher degree on this dimension in the monocratic and punishment-centered bureaucracies than in the representative bureaucracies. In one punishment-centered bureaucracy, school 11, pupil normlessness was significantly higher than in the representative bureaucracy, school 15. (Table XXI).

TABLE XXI

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEANS
OF NORMLESSNESS SCORES

School Number	11	19	12	18	15
15	*				
18					

* - Significant at 0.05 or less.

Comparing total alienation scores, pupils in the Weberian monocratic, school 12, and the punishment-centered bureaucracies, schools 11 and 18, scored higher than in the representative bureaucracy, school 15, and in one of the two schools tending to be like the representative bureaucracy, school 19. (Table XXII).

Hypotheses 2, 3.0, 3.1, and 3.2, were partially supported again. Figure 12 indicates the configuration occurring when structural differences among these schools were combined with differences in powerlessness and total alienation scale scores among the pupils in these schools.

TABLE XXII

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEANS
OF TOTAL ALIENATION SCALE SCORES

School Number	12	11	18	19	15
15	*	*	*		
19	*	*	*		
18					

* - Significant at 0.05 or less.

Pupil Alienation in Small High Schools

Few structural differences were found among small high schools.⁴ School 6 was significantly higher than school 3 on the authority dimension of bureaucratic structure; school 5 was significantly higher than school 1 on the expertise dimension. Because differences in structural characteristics were few and significantly high or low on only one of two bureaucratic dimensions, few differences in the degree of alienation of pupils could be anticipated.

Because of the nature of the pupil sample in one of the five small schools, two separate analyses were again necessary. In school 1, only 10 of 106 respondents were registered in a matriculation program. Therefore the data

⁴Supra., p. 119.

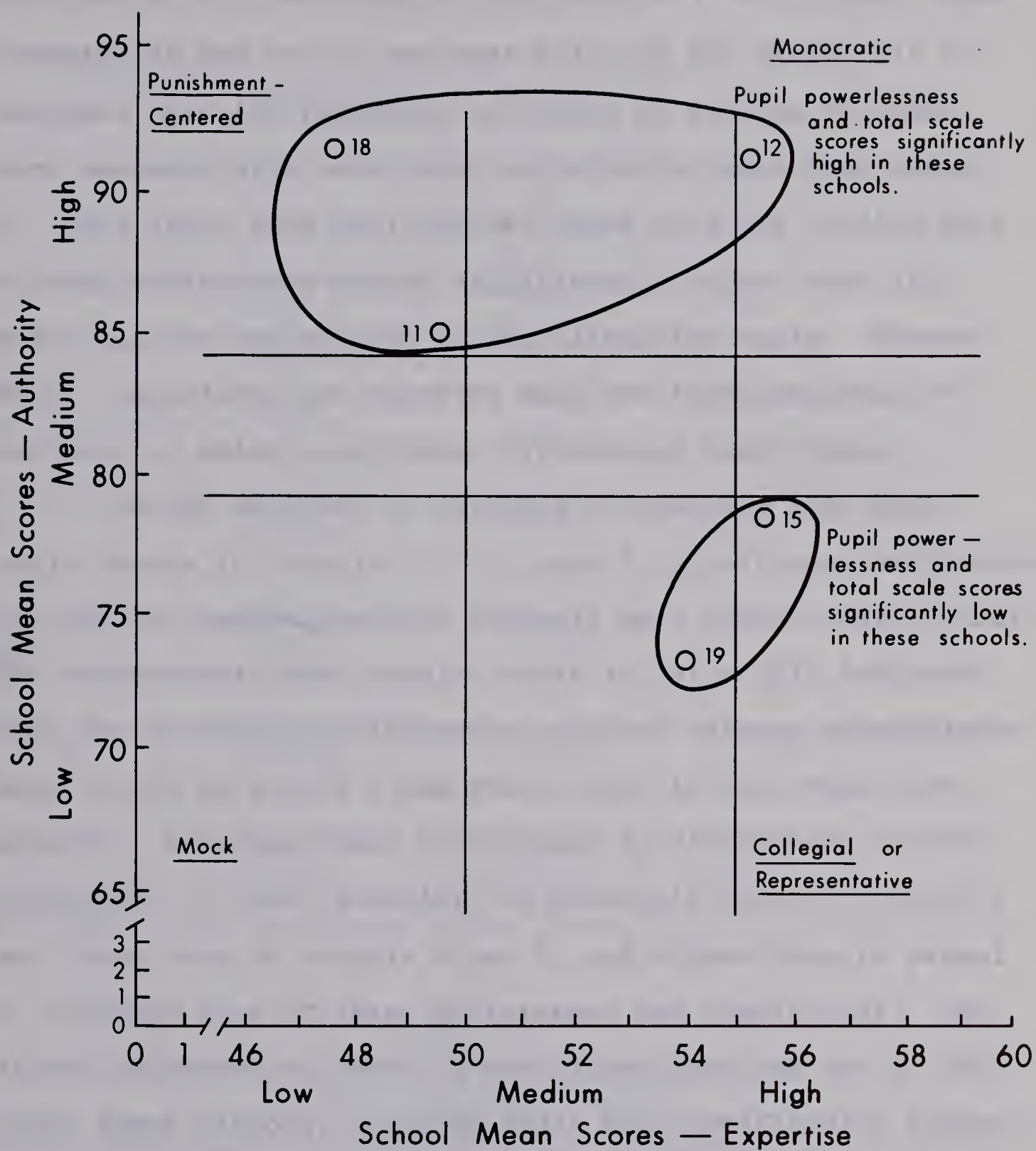


FIGURE 12

RANKING OF LARGE SCHOOLS ON STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS WITH DIFFERENCES IN POWERLESSNESS AND TOTAL ALIENATION SCALE SCORES SUPERIMPOSED

provided by all respondents from schools 3, 4, 5, and 6 were compared in one set of analyses while in the second set of analyses only the responses of pupils in diploma programs were compared with each other and with the data from school 1. Once again this decision was based upon the finding that diploma registrants scored significantly higher than did matriculation registrants on the alienation scale. Newman-Keuls comparisons are reported only for those analyses of variance in which significant differences were found.

In the analyses of variance of subscale and total scale scores in schools 3, 4, 5, and 6, significant differences on only the meaninglessness subscale were found. (Table XXIII). The Newman-Keuls test results shown in Table XXIV indicated that the significant difference occurred between meaninglessness scores in school 5 and these score in the other three schools. Relating these differences to differences in the structures of these schools, the authority score of school 5 was lower than in schools 4 and 6, and higher than in school 3, although none of these differences was significant. The expertise score for school 5 was higher than for any of the other three schools, although again not significantly higher. It is therefore possible only with extreme caution to speculate that pupils might experience meaninglessness to a lesser degree when there is de-emphasis in the school structure on the authority dimension, accompanied by an emphasis upon the expertise dimension. Figure 13 indicates the configuration occurring when structural differences among these schools had

TABLE XXIII

ANALYSES OF VARIANCES OF PUPIL ALIENATION SCORES
AMONG SMALL HIGH SCHOOLS
(Number of Schools = 4)

Dimension	Source	Mean Square	df	F	P
Powerlessness	Between	103.50	3	1.53	0.2064
	Within	67.83	538		
Self- estrangement	Between	51.91	3	1.06	0.3667
	Within	49.05	538		
Normlessness	Between	0.43	3	0.01	0.9930
	Within	48.36	538		
Meaningless- ness	Between	203.63	3	4.90	0.0023
	Within	41.52	538		
Isolation	Between	24.01	3	1.69	0.1683
	Within	14.23	538		
Total Scale	Between	291.21	3	0.59	0.6241
	Within	494.22	538		

TABLE XXIV

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEANS
OF MEANINGLESSNESS SCORES

School Number	3	4	6	5
5	*	*	*	

* - Significant at 0.05 or less.

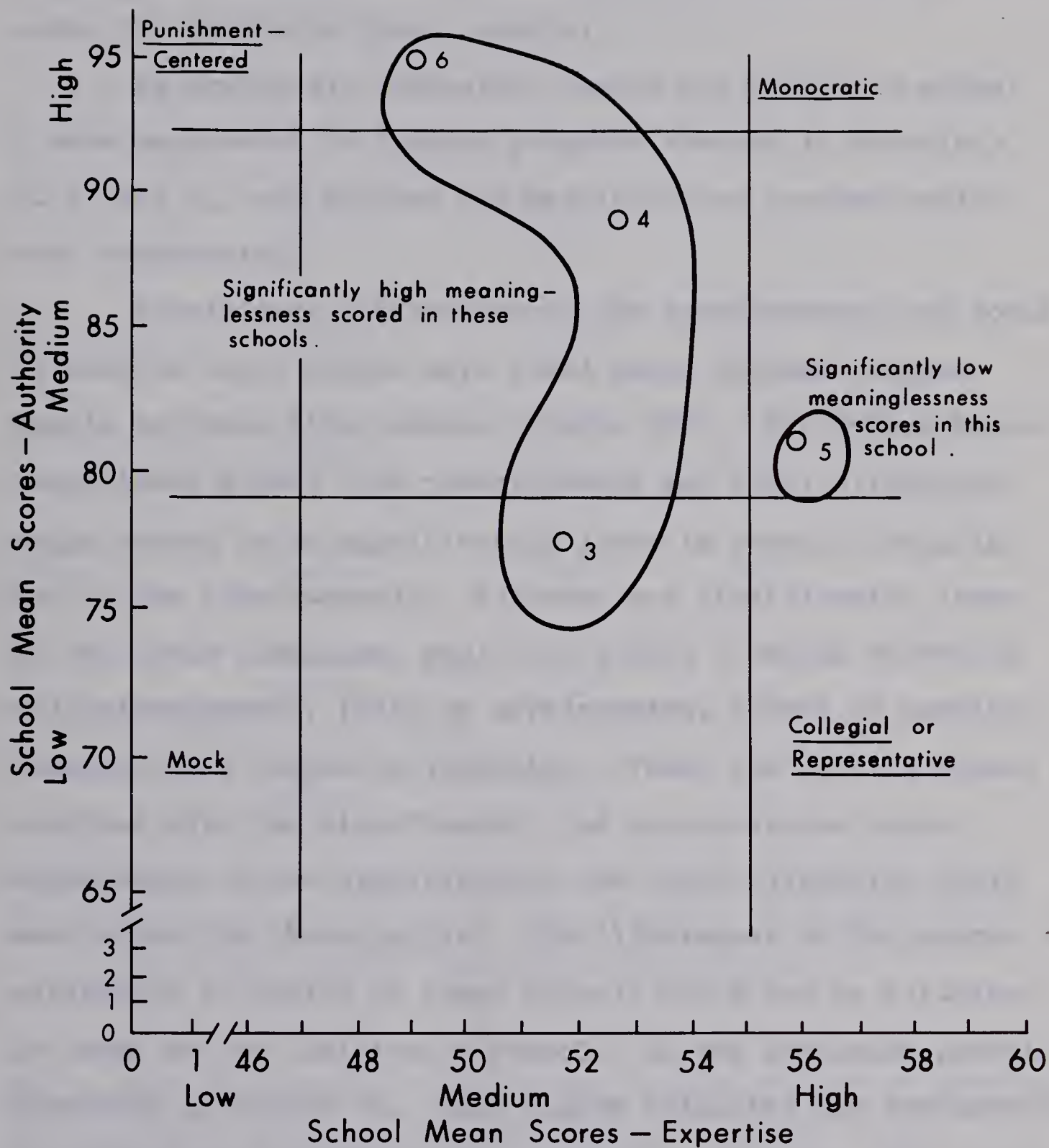


FIGURE 13

RANKING OF SMALL SCHOOLS ON STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS WITH DIFFERENCES IN PUPIL MEANINGLESSNESS SCORES SUPERIMPOSED

superimposed upon them differences in meaninglessness scores among the pupils in these schools.

As previously indicated, nearly all pupils in school 1 were registered in diploma programs whereas in schools 3, 4, 5, and 6, both diploma and matriculation program pupils were represented.

Significant differences in the powerlessness and total alienation scale scores were found among diploma program pupils in these five schools. (Table XXV). The Newman-Keuls comparisons showed both powerlessness and total alienation scale scores to be significantly lower in school 1 than in any of the other schools. Although not significantly lower on the other subscales, pupils in school 1 ranked fourth on self-estrangement, fifth on normlessness, fourth on meaninglessness, and fourth on isolation. These low ranking scores combined with the significantly low powerlessness score contributed to the significantly low total alienation scale mean score for these pupils. The differences in the degree of alienation of pupils in these schools could not be explained in terms of the position of school 1 in the structure profile presented in Figure 14. This figure indicates the configuration occurring when structural differences among these five schools were combined with differences in powerlessness and total alienation scale scores among pupils registered in diploma programs in these schools. It was therefore necessary to hypothesize that other factors contributed to this result.

TABLE XXV

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF PUPIL ALIENATION SCORES AMONG
DIPLOMA PUPILS IN SMALL HIGH SCHOOLS
(Number of Schools = 5)

Dimension	Source	Mean Square	df	F	P
Powerlessness	Between	488.10	4	7.46	0.0000
	Within	65.45	370		
Self- Estrangement	Between	71.03	4	1.67	0.1553
	Within	42.43	370		
Normlessness	Between	89.41	4	1.98	0.0975
	Within	45.25	370		
Meaningless- ness*	Between	127.72	4	3.00	0.0187
	Within	42.62	370		
Isolation	Between	27.73	4	1.91	0.1072
	Within	14.48	370		
Total Score	Between	2071.28	4	4.79	0.0009
	Within	432.85	370		

* - Although this F ratio was significant, the Newman-Keuls tests comparing pairs of means provided statistics only approaching but not achieving significance.

The pupils in school 1 were homogeneous in program registration and probably homogeneous in ability and interest. Many pressures for high academic achievement usually accompanying the presence of numerous matriculation registrants within a school were likely absent here. The diploma programs in school 1 provided wider variety than could be found in the other schools in this group. Since no specific attempt was

TABLE XXVI

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEANS OF
POWERLESSNESS SCORES AMONG DIPLOMA PUPILS IN
SMALL SCHOOLS

School Number	4	3	6	5	1
1	*	*	*	*	
5					

* - Significant at 0.05 or less.

TABLE XXVII

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEANS OF TOTAL
ALIENATION SCALE SCORES AMONG DIPLOMA PUPILS IN
SMALL SCHOOLS

School Number	3	4	6	5	1
1	*	*	*	*	
4					

* - Significant at 0.05 or less.

FIGURE 11

SCATTERING OF SMALL SCHOOLS ON STRUCTURAL
CHARACTERISTICS WITH POWERLESSNESS AND TOTAL
SCALE SCORES SUPERIMPOSED

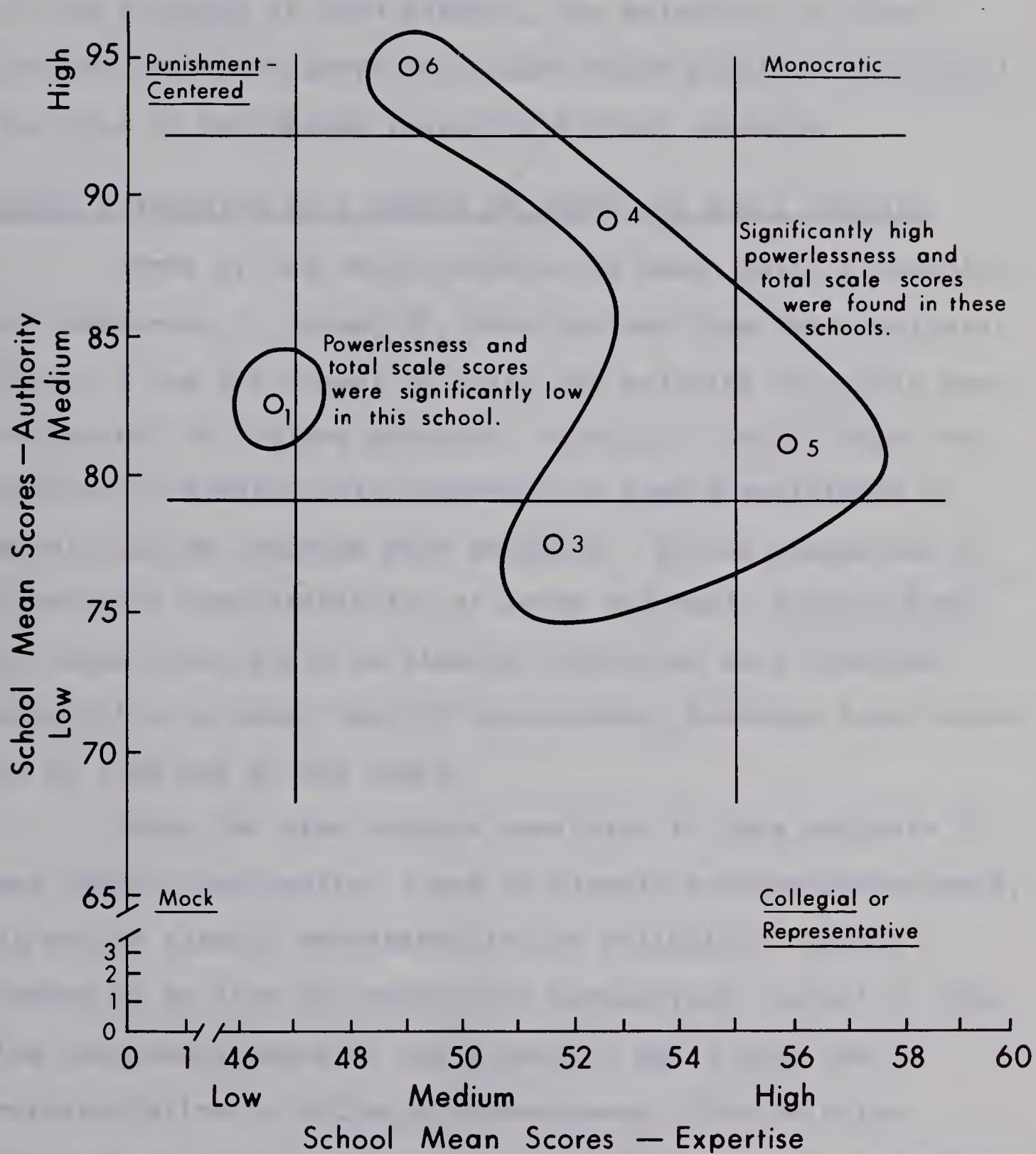


FIGURE 14

RANKING OF SMALL SCHOOLS ON STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS WITH POWERLESSNESS AND TOTAL SCALE SCORES SUPERIMPOSED

made in this research to identify the factors contributing to the findings in this section, the relevance of those factors presented above and others which might be identified can only be determined following further research.

Pupil Alienation in a Sample of Large and Small Schools

Three of the twelve schools in which pupil alienation was measured, 1, 14, and 17, were omitted from this analysis. School 1 was the school in which the majority of pupils were registered in diploma programs; schools 14 and 17 were the schools from which only responses of pupils registered in matriculation programs were received. In the comparison of structural characteristics of large and small schools none of these three would be clearly identified as a Weberian monocratic or other type of bureaucracy, although each tended to be like one of the types.

Among the nine schools remaining in this analysis 12 was clearly monocratic; 6 and 18 clearly punishment-centered; 15 and 19 clearly representative or collegial. School 4 tended to be like the monocratic bureaucracy, school 11 like the punishment-centered and schools 3 and 5 like the representative or collegial bureaucracy. The relative position of these schools based upon structural characteristics is presented again in Figures 15 and 16.

The analyses of variance of mean scores of pupils in these nine schools resulted in significant differences on the powerlessness, normlessness, and meaninglessness subscales, and

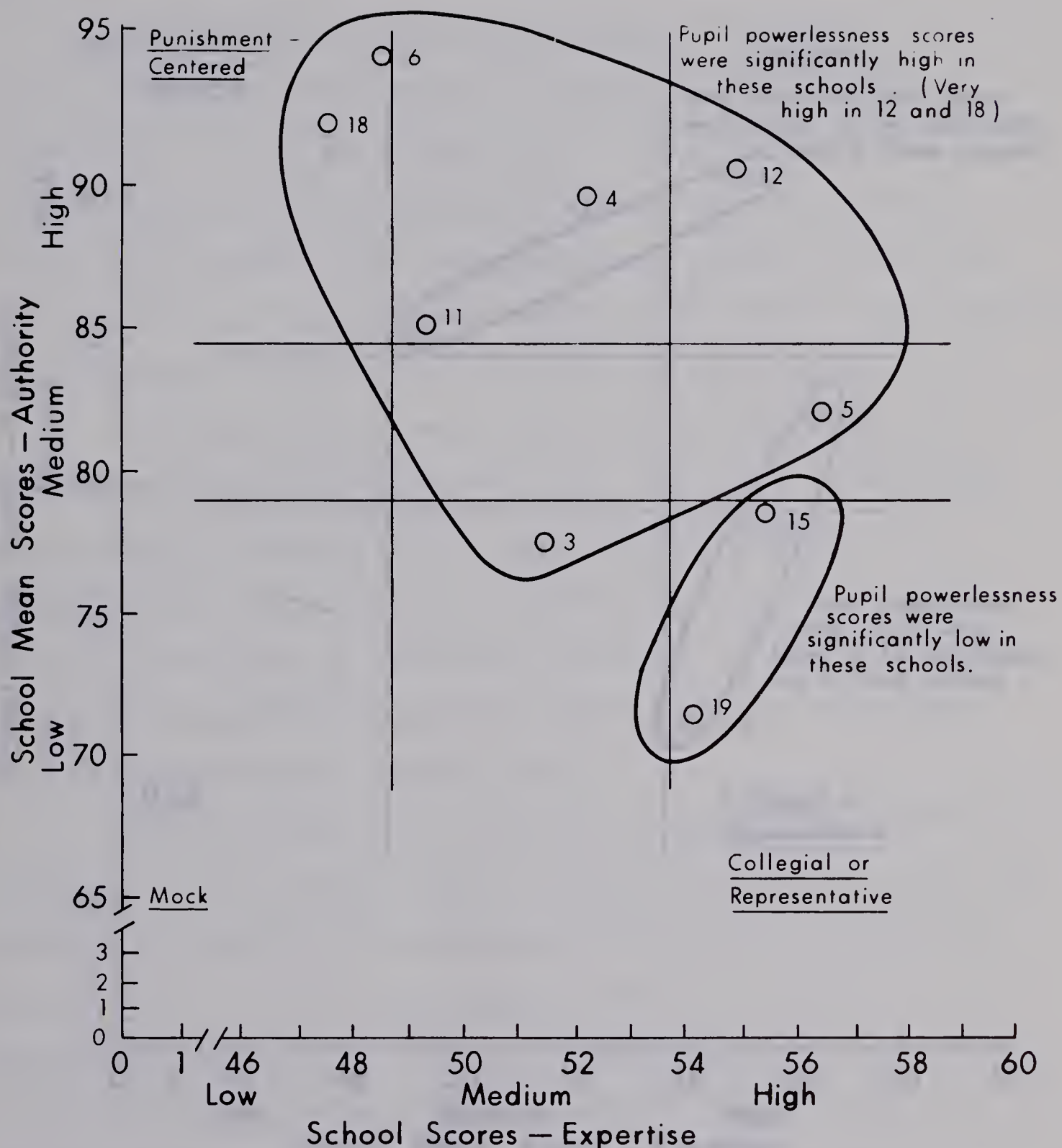


FIGURE 15

RANKING OF SELECTED LARGE AND SMALL SCHOOLS
ON STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS WITH POWER-
LESSNESS SCORES SUPERIMPOSED

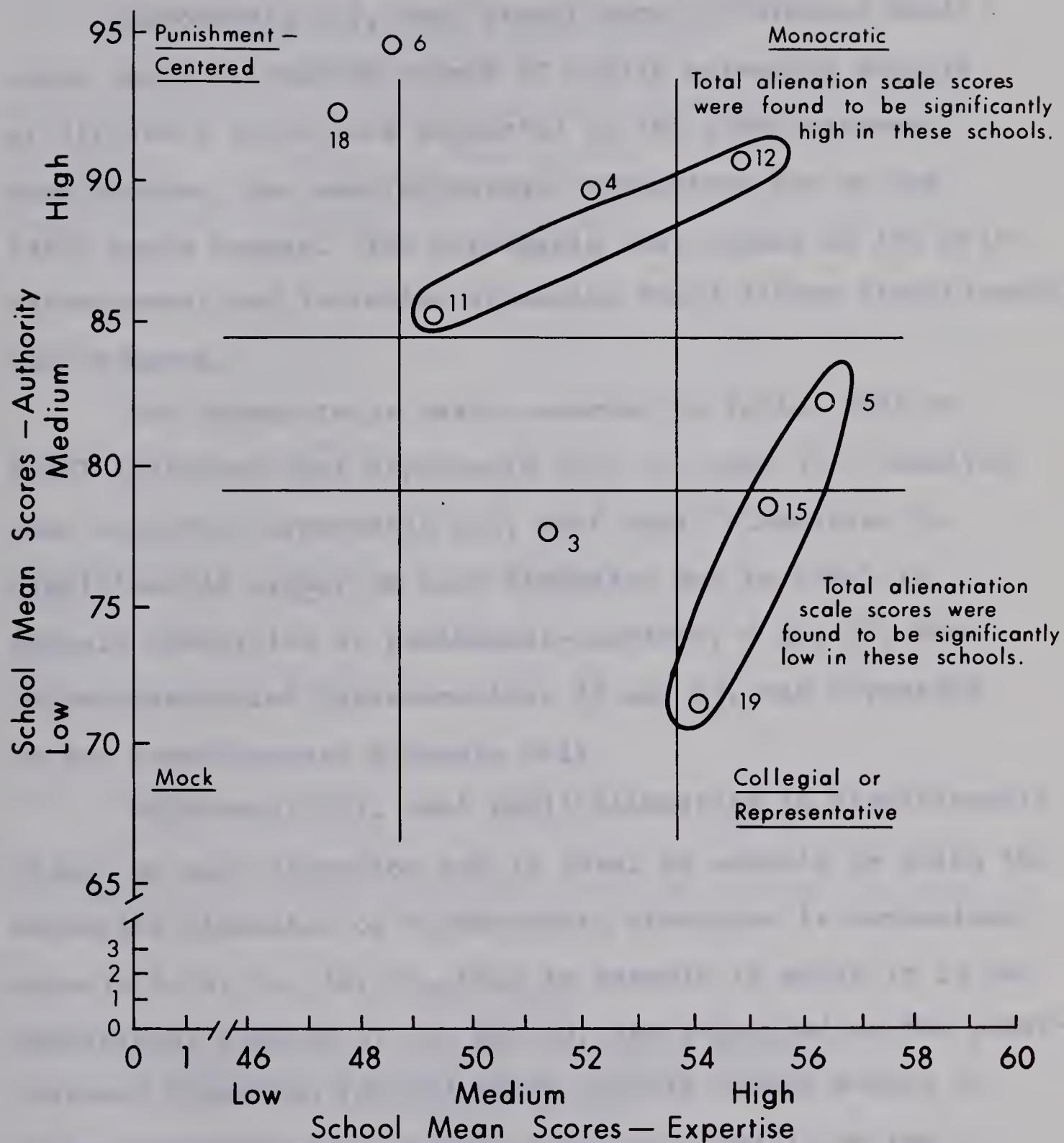


FIGURE 16

RANKING OF SELECTED LARGE AND SMALL SCHOOLS
ON STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS WITH TOTAL
ALIENATION SCALE SCORES SUPERIMPOSED

on the total scale (Table XXVIII).

Hypothesis 2.0, that significant differences would occur among alienation scores of pupils attending schools of different types, was supported on the powerlessness, normlessness, and meaninglessness dimensions and on the total scale scores. The hypothesis that scores on the self-estrangement and isolation subscales would differ significantly was rejected.

The Newman-Keuls tests reported in Tables XXIX to XXXII indicated that hypothesis 3.0, 3.1, and 3.2, received some support. Hypothesis 3.0, that pupil alienation is significantly higher on each dimension and in total in schools identified as punishment-centered, 6 and 18, than in representative bureaucracies, 15 and 19, was supported on the powerlessness subscale only.

Hypothesis 3.1, that pupil alienation is significantly higher on each dimension and in total in schools in which the authority dimension of bureaucratic structure is emphasized, schools 4, 6, 11, 12, 18, than in schools in which it is de-emphasized, schools 3, 15, and 19, was supported on the powerlessness dimension for all these schools except school 3. It was supported also between schools 11 and 15 on the normlessness dimension of pupil alienation, and between schools 12 and 11, compared with schools 15 and 19, on the total scale alienation scores.

TABLE XXVIII

ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF PUPIL ALIENATION SCORES AMONG
LARGE AND SMALL HIGH SCHOOLS
(Number of Schools = 9)

Dimension	Source	Mean Square	df	F	P
Powerlessness	Between	659.00	8	9.55	0.00
	Within	69.02	1316		
Self-Estrangement	Between	65.86	8	1.36	0.203
	Within	48.52	1316		
Normlessness	Between	131.34	8	2.40	0.015
	Within	54.76	1316		
Meaningless-ness	Between	103.56	8	2.42	0.014
	Within	42.86	1316		
Isolation	Between	21.35	8	1.67	0.100
	Within	12.82	1316		
Total Scale	Between	1293.45	8	2.58	<0.01
	Within	501.44	1316		

TABLE XXIX

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEANS OF
POWERLESSNESS SCORES AMONG PUPILS IN LARGE
AND SMALL SCHOOLS

School Number	12	18	4	3	11	6	5	15	19
19	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
15	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
5	*	*							
6	*								
11	*								
3									

* - Significant at 0.05 or less.

TABLE XXX

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEANS OF NORMLESSNESS
SCORES AMONG PUPILS IN LARGE AND SMALL SCHOOLS

School Number	11	19	12	18	4	6	5	3	15
15	*								
3									

TABLE XXXI

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEANS OF
MEANINGLESSNESS SCORES AMONG PUPILS IN LARGE
AND SMALL SCHOOLS

School Number	3	11	4	18	6	12	19	15	5
5	*	*							
15									

* - Significant at 0.05 or less.

TABLE XXXII

NEWMAN-KEULS COMPARISON OF ORDERED MEANS OF TOTAL
ALIENATION SCALE SCORES AMONG PUPILS IN LARGE AND
SMALL SCHOOLS

School Number	12	11	18	4	3	6	5	19	15
15	*	*							
19	*	*							
5	*	*							
6									

* - Significant at 0.05 or less.

Hypothesis 3.2, that pupil alienation is significantly low on each dimension and in total in those schools categorized as representative or collegial bureaucracies, schools 15 and 19, was supported on the powerlessness dimension and on total scale scores. It was also supported for school 15 on the normlessness dimension.

In this comparison of nine schools, including both small and large high schools, the hypotheses 2, 3.0, 3.1, and 3.2 all received some support. The extent of this support is summarized in Figures 15 and 16.

Summary of Findings

Pupil Alienation from the School. The tests of four hypotheses were reported in this chapter. Five different combinations of schools were used in the tests. These combinations were necessary in order to control for observed variability in the data due to differences in the program registration of responding pupils. One of the sample schools had very few matriculation program registrants. From two schools only matriculation program registrant responses were obtained. As a result of this control the findings from the combination of the five separate tests should not be different from findings which would have resulted had the data from all schools been appropriate for a single F- test.

The first hypothesis tested, that the degree of pupil alienation from the school differs significantly on each

dimension and in total among schools of different bureaucratic types, received some support. Pupils in large schools varied significantly in degree of powerlessness, the extent to which they feel that they can determine the occurrence of the outcomes or reinforcements they seek, and they varied significantly in degree of normlessness, the expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve certain goals. Some support was also found among these pupils for significant variability in the degree of self-estrangement, the degree of dependence upon anticipated future rewards. Variability in degree of meaninglessness, that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes can be made, and isolation, the assignment of low reward value to goals or beliefs typically highly valued in a given society, were not significant. Some support was obtained for the hypothesized differences in total scale scores.

Since fewer structural differences were found among the small schools as a group, fewer differences in degree of alienation were anticipated and few were found.

Powerlessness and total scales scores differed significantly among the five small schools. Meaninglessness scores were significantly different among both groupings of small schools.

When alienation scores of pupils from both large and small schools were compared, significant differences were found in degree of powerlessness, meaninglessness, and total scale score. Differences on the self-estrangement, normlessness,

and isolation dimensions were not significant and resulted in the rejection of that part of hypothesis 2.

On the basis of the above findings it could be concluded only that some significant differences existed in the degree of pupil alienation among the schools of different bureaucratic types. It was observed that the bulk of the support for this conclusion was provided by the powerlessness and meaninglessness dimensions and by the total scale scores. There were few significant differences among scores on the self-estrangement and normlessness dimensions, and no differences on the isolation dimension. There were few differences in pupil dependence upon anticipated future rewards for behavior, few differences in attitudes toward unapproved behaviors, and few differences in the degree of rejection of typically valued goals and beliefs.

IV. DISCUSSION

The findings in this study provided support for the theory that the attitudes of clients toward organizations of different types vary significantly. However when the dimensions of alienation defined by Seeman were used as a guide for the measurement of these attitudes, significant differences occurred mainly among powerlessness and total scale scores. Failure to find significant differences on the dimensions other than powerlessness may be interpreted in a variety of ways. The most obvious is that these differences did not exist. Another possibility is that the measuring instrument provided

such a gross measure that existing differences were simply not measured. Third, the use of these five dimensions may be more appropriate for the measurement of alienation from the broader focus of society in general than from a single social organization.

When considered along with subjective supporting evidence, the most acceptable conclusion is that these differences simply did not exist. Subjective evidence referred to here mainly includes observations regarding the high degree of homogeneity among both rural and urban Alberta high school pupils and among Alberta high schools. This type of support is obviously subject to empirical tests which may be provided by further research.

The examination of degree of pupil alienation in schools indicated that emphasis upon the authority dimension of bureaucracy in the school varied directly with the degree of pupil powerlessness and to some extent also with total alienation scores. It may therefore be predicted that pupil powerlessness and the combination of this and the other four dimensions of alienation can be influenced by the manipulation of organizational characteristics of the school. At this time this prediction is made with some reservation. The relationship between pupil alienation and school structure is most likely to be interactive. This prediction of interaction is based upon March and Simon's description of a major dysfunction of bureaucracy, the alienation of clients resulting from emphasis upon control measures in the organization, and the consequent

increase in emphasis upon control. Therefore school structure may affect pupil attitudes but it is also likely to reflect pupil attitudes.

Since the Likert-type scale provides data which may be compared to other similar data but does not provide an absolute measure, no confident absolute judgement may be made about the degree of pupil alienation from Alberta high schools. The distribution of scores for the self-estrangement and normlessness dimension and total scale scores did not differ significantly from a normal distribution. The distribution of powerlessness scores was somewhat platykurtic. The meaninglessness score distribution was slightly leptokurtic and negatively skewed. The distribution of isolation scores was also slightly leptokurtic but slightly positively skewed. Using the normal curve as a reference it was observed that in the distribution of powerlessness scores, more pupils than expected obtained high and low scores, and fewer than expected scored near the mean score. The mean of the meaninglessness distribution was higher than that expected in a normal curve. In addition more people scored near the mean than at the extremes of the range. On the isolation subscale the distribution of scores had a lower than expected mean and more people obtained this score than expected.

Visual examination of the overall mean scores for dimensions of alienation, including consideration for possible range, supported the ranking from highest to lowest mean score in the following order: (1) powerlessness, (2) meaninglessness,

(3) self-estrangement, (4) normlessness, (5) isolation.

A posteriori comparisons of these overall mean scores would likely show that the powerlessness mean scores were significantly higher than the other four; that the meaninglessness and self-estrangement mean scores, although not significantly different from each other, would be significantly higher than the normlessness and isolation mean scores; and that the normlessness and isolation mean scores would not differ significantly from each other. These findings would support some theoretical relationships among the five dimensions. Theoretically powerlessness and meaninglessness are related, and normlessness and isolation are related. These findings would also support the contention that pupils feel most alienated on the powerlessness dimension, and least alienated on the normlessness and isolation dimensions. This implies that pupils tend to accept the aims of the school and that they are prepared to use approved means to achieve these aims. However, they cannot see to the same extent the relevance of immediate tasks, and they do not feel to the same degree that through their own efforts they can achieve or predict the achievement of the established aims when they use their own behavior as the criterion.

Considerable variation was observed among the alienation scale scores of individual members of groups of pupils within schools. Individual subscale profiles varied as well. Determination of causes and consequences of variation in degree

of alienation among individual pupils should provide information of interest and of value to school authorities.

The partial support of the directional hypotheses predicting degree of alienation on the basis of structural characteristics of the school is the most significant finding of this study. However, before any change can be recommended in school structure, further research is required to determine the consequences of variations in the degree of pupil powerlessness and total alienation scale score, and also to determine other consequences of changes in school organizational structure. It may be that a change in structure in some schools would be accompanied by other highly undesirable consequences.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

I. SUMMARY

The Problem

Three problems were investigated in this study. High schools were examined to determine whether or not there were differences among them in type of bureaucratic structure. Pupil alienation was measured in three different types to determine whether or not the degree of pupil alienation varied among them. The alienation scores of pupils on each dimension and on the total scale were compared to identify specifically the differences in pupil attitudes in the different types of schools.

Theoretical Bases for the Research

All schools possess to a greater or lesser extent the characteristics of a bureaucratic organization as this organizational type was formulated by Weber and was redefined by Gouldner. Four bureaucratic types were identified: monocratic, punishment-centered, mock, and representative or collegial. The empirical definitions of these types resulted in minor changes in the original definitions.

In this study classification according to bureaucratic type was based upon two major bureaucratic dimensions: authority and expertise. The authority dimension consisted

of four lesser dimensions: hierarchy of authority, rules, procedural specifications, and impersonality. Expertise included two lesser dimensions: specialization and technical competence. When the two dimensions were placed orthogonally to each other and high and low scores on each were considered, a four-cell typology emerged.

Within the typology of bureaucratic types high emphasis on both authority and expertise was considered typical of the monocratic bureaucracy. High emphasis on authority but low on expertise was typical of the punishment-centered bureaucracy. Low emphasis on authority but high on expertise was typical of the representative or collegial bureaucracy. Low emphasis on both dimensions was considered typical of a mock bureaucracy.

Weber claimed that the monocratic bureaucracy was the most effective and efficient organizational form. Students of organizations including Merton, Gouldner, and Selznick, among many, have questioned Weber's claim. They have suggested that some aspects of the bureaucracy are dysfunctional. One of the predicted dysfunctions of the bureaucracy is the alienation of clients from the organization.

In this study the definition of alienation assumed five dimensions: powerlessness, self-estrangement, normlessness, meaninglessness, and isolation. Powerlessness is the expectancy that through their own behavior individuals cannot determine the outcomes they seek. Self-estrangement is a dependence upon future rewards for achievement rather than

the discernment of immediate value in activity participation. Normlessness is a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals. Meaninglessness is a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made. Isolation is the assignment of low reward value to goals or beliefs which are typically highly valued in a given situation.

Many social scientists suggest that alienation is a widespread phenomenon and that personal alienation from society is increasing. The premonitions for the future of many of these authors are extremely foreboding.

With this combination of dysfunctionality resulting from organizational form, and associated with it, widespread alienation from society, strong theoretical support was provided for the significance of study of pupil alienation from different types of bureaucratic schools.

Hypotheses

It was hypothesized in this study that (1) schools differ significantly in type of bureaucratic structure; (2) the degree of pupil alienation from the school differs significantly on each dimension and in total among schools of different bureaucratic types; (3.0) pupil alienation is significantly higher on each dimension and in total in schools identified as punishment-centered than in representative bureaucracies; (3.1) pupil alienation is significantly higher on each dimension and in total in schools in which the authority

dimension of bureaucracy is emphasized than in schools in which this dimension is de-emphasized; (3.2) pupil alienation is significantly low on each dimension and in total in those schools categorized as representative or collegial bureaucracies.

Methodology and Instrumentation

Twenty randomly selected Alberta high schools were categorized according to bureaucratic type. The basis for this categorization was data provided by teachers working in these schools in response to items in the School Organizational Inventory. The Pupil Attitude Questionnaire was administered to one randomly selected class in each program, matriculation and diploma, in each of the grades 10, 11, and 12 in twelve of the original twenty sample schools. A total of 1,764 pupils responded to the pupil questionnaire.

Data provided by both teacher and pupil responses were analyzed using some parametric and some nonparametric techniques. These included correlations, t-tests, analyses of variance, chi-square tests, factor analyses, factor matching, and a coefficient of concordance.

II. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Bureaucracy in Schools. High schools were found to differ significantly in type of bureaucratic structure. Within the restrictions established only five of the twenty sample schools could be clearly identified by type. Of these

five one was monocratic, two were collegial or representative, and two were punishment-centered. The remaining fifteen schools tended to be like one of these three types. Since school scores on the authority and expertise dimensions were found to have an overall negative correlation, most of the remaining schools tended to be like either the representative or collegial, or like the punishment-centered bureaucracy. No school could be classified as a mock bureaucracy.

More variation was found in the structure of large schools than in the structure of small schools. Among the large schools one was monocratic; two were collegial or representative and five tended to be similar to this type; one was punishment-centered and two tended to be similar to this type. Among the group of ten small schools only one was clearly identified according to type. This one was a punishment-centered bureaucracy. Five small schools tended to be similar to the punishment-centered type; three were similar to the collegial or representative type; and one was similar to the monocratic type.

Within the restrictions of the definitions of bureaucratic type presented in this study, the hypothesis that schools differ in bureaucratic type was quite strongly supported.

Pupil Alienation in Bureaucratic Schools. Alberta high school pupils scored higher on some dimensions of alienation than on others. Powerlessness scores were highest followed by meaninglessness and self-estrangement scores. Normlessness

and isolation dimension scores were lowest. This ordering of mean scores on the dimensions seemed to imply that pupils tend to accept the aims promoted in the schools and they tend to be prepared to use approved means to achieve these aims. They cannot see to the same extent the relevance of immediate tasks to, and they do not feel to the same degree that through their own efforts they can achieve or predict the achievement of, the stated aims.

Significant differences were found in degree of alienation among pupils attending different types of bureaucratic schools essentially on only two dimensions, powerlessness and meaninglessness, and the total scale scores. The hypothesis that pupil alienation from the school differs significantly on each dimension and in total among schools of different bureaucratic types was therefore only partially supported.

The three hypotheses regarding degree of pupil alienation in different types of bureaucratic schools were only partially supported. Powerlessness scores were significantly higher in punishment-centered than in representative bureaucracies. Among one group of large schools total alienation scale scores were also significantly higher in the punishment-centered bureaucracies. Further support from the data from other dimensions of alienation was obtained in some comparisons of groups of schools but not in others. Thus the hypothesis that pupil alienation is significantly

higher on each dimension and in total in schools identified as punishment-centered than in representative bureaucracies was only partially supported.

The second of these hypotheses, that pupil alienation on each of the dimensions and in total is significantly higher in schools in which the authority dimension of bureaucracy is emphasized than in schools in which this dimension is de-emphasized, was also only partially supported. Powerlessness and total alienation scale scores were significantly higher as predicted. Differences on the other dimensions of alienation were again not generally significant as predicted.

The third of these hypotheses, that pupil alienation is significantly low on each dimension and in total in those schools categorized as representative bureaucracies, was again supported by significant differences in powerlessness and total scale scores. Once again some support was received from the comparisons of scores on dimensions other than powerlessness, but these differences were not of sufficient magnitude to achieve significance. The cumulative effect of these dimensional differences was, however, demonstrated in significant differences in total scale scores.

Conclusions. The bureaucratic model as defined in this study to include four types: monocratic, collegial or representative, punishment-centered, and mock, was found to be reasonably suitable for use in the examination of the

organizational structure of schools. This qualification of the degree of suitability may have been necessary because of restrictions applied in this study to the operational definition of bureaucratic type. It was required in this study that in order to be clearly categorized according to type, a school's score on both the authority and the expertise dimensions of bureaucracy had to be significantly different from these dimension scores of at least one other school. This condition may have been excessively restrictive.

The five dimensions of alienation proposed by Seeman provided a useful conceptual basis for the preparation of an attitude scale. However when scale scores were used to test pupil alienation toward the particular focus in this study, the school, significant differences appeared with high consistency only among scores on the powerlessness dimension and on the total scale. Whether or not only these differences would occur when the focus of alienation was changed from the school to a particular aspect of the school or to some other focus remains to be researched. It was also conceded here that the failure to find significant differences on some dimensions may have been due to inadequacies of the scale rather than of the basic theory.

Two definitional problems may be considered in any future research using the five dimensional concept of alienation. The definitions of meaninglessness and powerlessness both involve predictions regarding the outcomes of

behavior. One implies an ability to predict; the other implies inability to predict. Although no problems resulting from this inconsistency were noted in this research, any future research might give consideration to this issue. The second problem involves the close relationship between normlessness and isolation. Presumably any pupil who rejected the values and beliefs promoted by the school would not hesitate to participate in unapproved behavior. The significance of this close relationship might also be examined in future research.

II. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF SCHOOLS

Several types of bureaucracies were found in schools. It seems reasonable to consider that the alteration of any type might be achieved through the manipulation of the two major variables, authority and expertise. Whether such shifts are justified remains to be proved, although some evidence was provided by this study to support the representative or collegial bureaucracy as the most desirable organizational type when pupil attitudes toward the school were used as the criteria.

Most variation in pupil attitudes occurred on the powerlessness dimension and the combination of dimensions. Scores on the powerlessness dimension were higher than on the other dimensions. Significant differences occurred among powerlessness and total scale scores as predicted. School

authorities might therefore be well-advised to research the desirability of high powerlessness and high total scale scores among pupils. If it is found that attitudes reflected by these high scores are undesirable, then these authorities might attempt to alter the organizational structure of their schools as a means of effecting desirable changes in these attitudes.

Finally, school authorities will be interested to know that there was considerable variation among pupils within schools in their degree of alienation from the school. The Pupil Attitude Questionnaire provides a convenient means of measuring the attitudes of large numbers of pupils toward their schools. Provided that this scale is used only as an initial means of identification and it is supported by other valid and reliable measures, it may be useful to school authorities in its present form. Following further research involving the use of this scale, its use may be recommended with greater confidence.

IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The acceptance of the bureaucratic model as it was used in this research is accompanied by additional problems which might be researched.

- (1) Are each of the bureaucratic types equally effective and efficient in terms of pupil achievement, teacher satisfaction, and other

relevant variables in addition to pupil attitudes?

- (2) Is it possible to manipulate organizational structure in the bureaucracy by deliberately implementing changes in the major dimensions, authority and expertise?

Further study of alienation among pupils might focus attention upon the following problems:

- (1) What is the degree of alienation from the school among pupils who represent aberrant groups in the general population?
- (2) What is the degree of alienation from the school among pupils in other countries and in other cultures?

The whole area of study of alienation among individual pupils from the school has yet to be researched. Immediately evident problems include the following:

- (1) What personal characteristics distinguish the alienated from the unalienated pupil?
- (2) What are effective means of alleviating the alienation of a particular pupil?

Many other problems might have been presented in this list. Before any others or even those presented are researched, research should be conducted to further refine the classification of bureaucracies developed in this study, to refine the measurement of bureaucratic characteristics

to have been in the school in 1961

1961

(2) It is possible to maintain a reasonable
percentage in the percentage of children
attending school in the early 1960s
and in the early 1960s

Further study of education must begin with these
assumptions and the following problems:

(1) What is the degree of education from the school
and how is the present situation in
the school system?

(2) What is the degree of education from the school
and how is the present situation in
the school system?

The whole area of study of education must include
the whole area of study of education, including
the whole area of study of education, including
the whole area of study of education, including

(3) What is the degree of education from the school
and how is the present situation in
the school system?

Some of the problems which have been discussed in
this study, however, should be considered as being
relevant to the study of education, including
the whole area of study of education, including
the whole area of study of education, including

of organizations, and to provide further evidence to support the reliability and validity of the alienation scale developed in this study.

V. CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The successful completion of this research involved the commitment and participation of many people. The most significant contribution to the research was made by the pupils and the teachers who responded to the questionnaires.

The findings of this study may at least in part repay the contributors for their efforts. If organizational structures can be manipulated to present more favorable climates in which pupils must work, significant benefits will accrue to both clients and the organization.

Further research is needed to follow this introductory study of pupil alienation. The findings of this and of additional research in this vital area should provide a basis for improvement of the school as an organization and improvement of pupil attitudes toward the school.

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APPENDIX 2

GENERAL INFORMATION

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been identified as having been involved in the activities of the group.

1. Introduction

The first section of the report is a general introduction to the group. It describes the group's objectives, its activities, and its members. It also provides a brief history of the group and its development over time.

APPENDICES

1. A list of the names of the persons who have been identified as having been involved in the activities of the group.

2. A list of the names of the persons who have been identified as having been involved in the activities of the group.

3. A list of the names of the persons who have been identified as having been involved in the activities of the group.

4. A list of the names of the persons who have been identified as having been involved in the activities of the group.

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9. A list of the names of the persons who have been identified as having been involved in the activities of the group.

10. A list of the names of the persons who have been identified as having been involved in the activities of the group.

APPENDIX A

SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONAL INVENTORY

Developed by D. A. MacKay and Norman Robinson
Department of Educational Administration
University of Alberta, 1966

Directions

For each statement select the answer which you feel comes closest to describing your own school organization. Place this response on the answer sheet with your pencil. If you wish to change an answer, erase it cleanly before giving another. Respond to all items.

- - - - -

1. ☐ A person who wants to make his own decisions would quickly become discouraged in this school.
2. ☐ There is an overlap in the job responsibilities of the Principal and Vice-Principal.
3. ☐ Rules stating when teachers arrive and depart from the building are strictly enforced.
4. ☐ The use of a wide variety of teaching methods and materials is encouraged in this school.
5. ☐ We are expected to be courteous, but reserved, at all times in our dealings with parents.
6. ☐ Promotions are based on how well you are liked.
7. ☐ Staff members of this school always get their orders from higher up.
8. ☐ Teachers are required to sponsor extra-curricular activities for which they have no suitable background.
9. ☐ The time for informal staff get-togethers during the school day is strictly regulated by the administration.
10. ☐ In dealing with student discipline problems teachers are encouraged to consider the individual offender, not the offense, in deciding on a suitable punishment.

11. ____ Staff members must possess above-average qualifications before they are placed in this school.
12. ____ Staff members are allowed to do almost as they please in their classroom work.
13. ____ Teachers in this school receive help from the custodial staff in setting up audio-visual equipment for classroom use.
14. ____ The teacher is expected to abide by the spirit of the rules of the school rather than stick to the letter of the rules.
15. ____ We are to follow strict operating procedures at all times.
16. ____ The administration sponsors staff get-togethers.
17. ____ Promotion is not based on personal preferences of the selectors, but on an objective evaluation of teacher capabilities.
18. ____ Nothing is said if you get to school just before roll call or leave right after dismissal occasionally.
19. ____ Going through proper channels is constantly stressed.
20. ____ Teachers are encouraged to become friendly with groups and individuals outside the school.
21. ____ Past teaching experience plays a large part in the assignment of a teacher to this school.
22. ____ Teachers have to do their own typing of stencils for classroom use.
23. ____ There can be little action until an administrator approves a decision.
24. ____ Assignment of teaching duties is made without regard for the teacher's experience or training.
25. ____ The teachers are constantly being checked for rule violations.
26. ____ There isn't much chance for a promotion unless you are "in" with the administration.
27. ____ Teachers who have contact with parents and other citizens are instructed in proper procedures for greeting and talking with them.

28. ____ Many teachers are hired simply because they have attractive personalities.
29. ____ The school has a manual of rules and regulations for teachers to follow.
30. ____ We have to do a lot of paper work which could be done by the school office staff.
31. ____ Each staff member is responsible to an administrator to whom the member regularly reports.
32. ____ In order to get a promotion, you have to "know somebody."
33. ____ The instructional program is departmentalized into specific subject areas with specific teachers assigned.
34. ____ A person can make his own decisions without checking with anyone else.
35. ____ There is only one way to do the job -- the Principal's way.
36. ____ In dealing with student behavior problems the school has standard punishments for standard offenses regardless of the individual involved.
37. ____ Promotions are based entirely on how well a person does his job.
38. ____ I have to ask the principal before I do almost anything.
39. ____ No one can get necessary supplies without permission from the principal or vice-principal.
40. ____ Written orders from higher up are followed unquestioningly.
41. ____ The same procedures are to be followed in most situations.
42. ____ Students are treated within the rules of the school, no matter how serious a problem they have.
43. ____ Even small matters have to be referred to someone higher up for a final answer.
44. ____ Teachers are expected not to leave their classroom without permission.
45. ____ Whenever we have a problem, we are supposed to go to the same person for an answer.
46. ____ No matter how special a pupil's or parent's problem appears to be, the person is treated the same way as anyone else.

47. — Any decision I make has to have my superior's approval.
48. — Red tape is often a problem in getting a job done in this school.

APPENDIX B

FACTOR LOADINGS: VARIMAX ROTATION DATA FROM
SCHOOL ORGANIZATION INVENTORY
(N = 403)

Item	Communal- ities	Factors					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
1	44*	47*	-36	02	15	-21	13
2	22	-17	12	11	-03	41	02
3	47	42	07	08	41	25	22
4	44	12	-41	22	-40	-15	11
5	37	16	08	15	29	02	-48
6	61	-16	76	02	-06	04	09
7	44	56	-04	04	22	-27	-01
8	34	-22	25	02	-16	45	-01
9	21	42	06	05	12	-02	11
10	48	-21	12	42	05	-17	47
11	30	-13	-04	-06	18	45	-19
12	32	35	-08	-19	18	13	32
13	27	04	22	05	13	45	05
14	43	21	-12	23	-11	-18	53
15	38	44	00	25	34	06	03
16	10	07	-13	-01	-06	-27	01
17	51	-13	67	-06	06	19	-04
18	49	15	-07	-03	28	18	59
19	46	41	14	11	46	-22	-05
20	20	-04	-29	21	-03	-24	11
21	23	11	-03	-09	06	46	03
22	30	-20	01	06	45	19	12
23	48	59	-15	14	05	-29	-06
24	34	-29	21	-20	34	24	-03
25	29	46	-18	08	02	17	08
26	67	-19	79	-04	-06	05	00
27	14	14	-12	09	01	31	-01
28	33	01	55	-06	09	-11	-05
29	31	04	00	20	50	-13	-06
30	29	-28	30	-02	-04	34	-05
31	24	21	-06	08	43	05	06
32	61	-21	74	-03	-10	07	-01
33	28	-13	-10	-13	45	14	-11
34	41	54	-14	-19	12	-16	14
35	51	61	-32	09	-02	-13	06
36	47	-06	-08	62	25	09	-08
37	35	-17	46	09	04	28	-17
38	57	73	-11	06	-14	-01	-07
39	42	57	-07	07	-27	-02	-10
40	35	38	03	40	10	-07	-17
41	44	31	-09	46	14	11	-31
42	43	32	-01	56	-06	00	07
43	58	69	-21	12	-15	-13	09
44	26	32	-18	29	15	14	-03
45	39	54	-15	25	-09	10	03
46	48	21	-09	63	-06	02	17
47	58	73	-13	10	-07	08	-06
48	44	47	-38	10	05	-21	-11
	18.618	6.160	3.929	2.339	2.293	2.246	1.652

* Decimals have been omitted for communalities and for factor loadings.

APPENDIX C

CHI SQUARE TEST OF PROPORTIONS IN THE SELECTED SAMPLE

Enrolment	Number of Schools	P	Number in Sample	P	p-P	$(p-P)^2/p$	χ^2
101- 200	60	.63	5	.50	-.13	.0268	10(0.1068)= 1.068 (p < .50)
201- 300	24	.26	3	.30	-.04	.0061	
301- 400	10	.11	2	.20	-.09	.0739	
401- 500	9	.28	1	.10	-.18	.1157	10(1.0354)= 10.354 (p < .90)
501- 600	4	.12	1	.10	-.02	.0033	
601- 700	1	.03	1	.10	.07	.1633	
701- 800	1	.03			-.03	.0300	
801- 900							
901-1000							
1001-1100							
1101-1200	4	.12	2	.20	.08	.0533	
1201-1300	1	.03			.03	.0300	
1301-1400	4	.12	1	.10	-.02	.0033	
1401-1500	2	.06	1	.10	.04	.0266	
1501-1600	2	.06	2	.20	.14	.3266	
1601-1700	2	.06			-.06	.0600	
1701-1800							
1801-1900	1	.03	1	.10	.07	.1633	
1901-2000	1	.03			-.03	.0300	
2001-2100							
2101-2200							
2201-2300							
2301-2400	1	.03			-.03	.0300	

APPENDIX D

NAME					SCHOOL																		
Last		First		Middle																			
AGE	GRADE	BOY	GIRL	DATE	NAME OF TEST					Form													
Years		(Circle One)		Day Month Year		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9									
					Indicate answer by placing a mark on one of the guidelines as shown in the example. Use HB pencil. Don't make marks longer than guidelines. Example A B C D																		
PART 1																							
1	A	B	C	D	E	36	A	B	C	D	E	71	A	B	C	D	E	106	A	B	C	D	E
2	A	B	C	D	E	37	A	B	C	D	E	72	A	B	C	D	E	107	A	B	C	D	E
3	A	B	C	D	E	38	A	B	C	D	E	73	A	B	C	D	E	108	A	B	C	D	E
4	A	B	C	D	E	39	A	B	C	D	E	74	A	B	C	D	E	109	A	B	C	D	E
5	A	B	C	D	E	40	A	B	C	D	E	75	A	B	C	D	E	110	A	B	C	D	E
6	A	B	C	D	E	41	A	B	C	D	E	76	A	B	C	D	E	111	A	B	C	D	E
7	A	B	C	D	E	42	A	B	C	D	E	77	A	B	C	D	E	112	A	B	C	D	E
8	A	B	C	D	E	43	A	B	C	D	E	78	A	B	C	D	E	113	A	B	C	D	E
9	A	B	C	D	E	44	A	B	C	D	E	79	A	B	C	D	E	114	A	B	C	D	E
10	A	B	C	D	E	45	A	B	C	D	E	80	A	B	C	D	E	115	A	B	C	D	E
11	A	B	C	D	E	46	A	B	C	D	E	81	A	B	C	D	E	116	A	B	C	D	E
12	A	B	C	D	E	47	A	B	C	D	E	82	A	B	C	D	E	117	A	B	C	D	E
13	A	B	C	D	E	48	A	B	C	D	E	83	A	B	C	D	E	118	A	B	C	D	E
14	A	B	C	D	E	49	A	B	C	D	E	84	A	B	C	D	E	119	A	B	C	D	E
15	A	B	C	D	E	50	A	B	C	D	E	85	A	B	C	D	E	120	A	B	C	D	E
16	A	B	C	D	E	51	A	B	C	D	E	86	A	B	C	D	E	121	A	B	C	D	E
17	A	B	C	D	E	52	A	B	C	D	E	87	A	B	C	D	E	122	A	B	C	D	E
18	A	B	C	D	E	53	A	B	C	D	E	88	A	B	C	D	E	123	A	B	C	D	E
19	A	B	C	D	E	54	A	B	C	D	E	89	A	B	C	D	E	124	A	B	C	D	E
20	A	B	C	D	E	55	A	B	C	D	E	90	A	B	C	D	E	125	A	B	C	D	E
21	A	B	C	D	E	56	A	B	C	D	E	91	A	B	C	D	E	126	A	B	C	D	E
22	A	B	C	D	E	57	A	B	C	D	E	92	A	B	C	D	E	127	A	B	C	D	E
23	A	B	C	D	E	58	A	B	C	D	E	93	A	B	C	D	E	128	A	B	C	D	E
24	A	B	C	D	E	59	A	B	C	D	E	94	A	B	C	D	E	129	A	B	C	D	E
25	A	B	C	D	E	60	A	B	C	D	E	95	A	B	C	D	E	130	A	B	C	D	E
26	A	B	C	D	E	61	A	B	C	D	E	96	A	B	C	D	E	131	A	B	C	D	E
27	A	B	C	D	E	62	A	B	C	D	E	97	A	B	C	D	E	132	A	B	C	D	E
28	A	B	C	D	E	63	A	B	C	D	E	98	A	B	C	D	E	133	A	B	C	D	E
29	A	B	C	D	E	64	A	B	C	D	E	99	A	B	C	D	E	134	A	B	C	D	E
30	A	B	C	D	E	65	A	B	C	D	E	100	A	B	C	D	E	135	A	B	C	D	E
31	A	B	C	D	E	66	A	B	C	D	E	101	A	B	C	D	E	136	A	B	C	D	E
32	A	B	C	D	E	67	A	B	C	D	E	102	A	B	C	D	E	137	A	B	C	D	E
33	A	B	C	D	E	68	A	B	C	D	E	103	A	B	C	D	E	138	A	B	C	D	E
34	A	B	C	D	E	69	A	B	C	D	E	104	A	B	C	D	E	139	A	B	C	D	E
35	A	B	C	D	E	70	A	B	C	D	E	105	A	B	C	D	E	140	A	B	C	D	E
PART 2																							
1	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	9	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J		
2	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	10	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J		
3	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	11	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J		
4	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	12	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J		
5	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	13	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J		
6	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	14	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J		
7	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	15	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J		
8	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	16	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J		

APPENDIX E

SCALE DEVELOPMENT AND PILOT STUDY

I. INTRODUCTION

This discussion contains five sections covering as briefly as possible the following topics:

- (1) Attitude measurement and Likert Scaling.
- (2) The theoretical basis in this study for item development.
- (3) The initial scale.
- (4) The pilot study.
- (5) The final scale.

II. MEASUREMENT AND SCALING

Attitude Measurement

When an hierarchy is established in the order: value, belief, inclination, opinion, what is being directly expressed by a subject in response to questionnaire items is an opinion. In this study an attempt was made to determine whether or not pupils were alienated from some kinds of schools to a greater degree than were pupils from other kinds of schools. Alienated attitudes were inferred from the pupils' expressions of opinion in response to the items in a questionnaire.

Generally an attitude is considered to be a "stand the individual upholds and cherishes about objects, issues, persons, groups, or institutions."¹

¹Carolyn W. Sherif, et al., Attitude and Attitude Change (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1965), p. 4.

A social attitude ... may be defined as a set of evaluative categorizations framed toward an object or class of objects as an individual learns, in interaction with others, about his environment including the evaluations of other persons. Through attitude formation, the individual relates himself, psychologically to those objects. His attitudes become constituent parts of his self (ego) system. By definition, therefore, attitudes have emotional and motivational aspects inseparably intertwined with cognitive content. Their function in the self system partially accounts for the fact that attitudes are not momentary affairs. The relative stability of the social world in which the individual moves also contributes to the more or less lasting character of social attitudes.²

Verbal opinions stated by the individual are the data for attitude research.³

In his discussion of the assessment of attitudes, Campbell describes four kinds of scales which are identified in the typology below.⁴

	Disguised	Undisguised
Structured	Estimation of Social Norms	Thurstone) Likert) Scales
Non-Structured	Projective Tests	Free response inter- view Questionnaire Biography Essay

FIGURE 17

KINDS OF ATTITUDE SCALES

²Ibid., p. 19.

³Ibid.

⁴D. T. Campbell, "The Indirect Assessment of Social Attitudes," Psychological Bulletin, XLVII (1950), 22.

To measure attitudes of large numbers of respondents, the scale or questionnaire appears logically superior to the other means of measurement. Edwards states a preference for a Likert Scale because it tends to yield a high reliability coefficient and is easier to construct than are other scales.⁵

The Likert-Type Scale

Following is a list of general considerations pertinent to the construction and use of a Likert-type scale.

- (1) The measurement of beliefs and attitudes is necessarily indirect.
- (2) The manner in which beliefs and attitudes reflect themselves in behavior and experience is governed in part by the nature of the momentary situation.
- (3) The required precision of measurement of attitudes and beliefs may vary.
- (4) Belief and attitude measurement, like all measurement, demands reliability.
- (5) The validity of measurement of beliefs can be determined only indirectly, in terms of predictions of behavior based upon such measurement.⁶

Gulliksen lists five basic problems in constructing tests of any kind:

- (1) Writing and selecting items.
- (2) Assigning a score to each person.
- (3) Determining the reliability of test scores.
- (4) Determining the validity of a test.

⁵Allen Edwards, Techniques of Scale Construction (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1957), p. 168.

⁶David Krech and Richard S. Crutchfield, Theory and Problems of Social Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948), pp. 206-207.

- (5) Comparing the results with those obtained using other tests or other groups of subjects.⁷

Krech and Crutchfield suggest that the construction of a Likert Scale may involve five steps as follows:

- (1) The collection of a large number of statements of propositions either referring directly to or considered by the experimenter as likely to relate to the object in question.
- (2) Applying these statements to a group of subjects who indicate for each statement their reaction of strongly approve, approve, undecided, disapprove, or strongly disapprove.
- (3) The summation for each individual of the responses to all items, by scoring the above categories 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, respectively.
- (4) The examination of the correlation between each item and the total score.
- (5) The elimination of items that fail to correlate to a substantial degree with the total score, i.e., that do not hang together with or measure the same thing as the other items in the test.⁸

These authors also present several criteria for the selection of items:

- (1) The item must bear some diagnostic relationship to the attitude or opinion for which measurement is being sought.
- (2) The item must have discriminative power with respect to the strength of attitude and with respect to people.
- (3) Sometimes the content of an item may not bear a manifest relationship to the object in question. Items often have hidden meanings, which make responses to the items lead to correct inferences about the thing being measured, even though in

⁷Harold Gulliksen, Theory of Mental Tests (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1950), p. 2.

⁸Krech, op. cit., p. 218.

surface meaning they seem indifferently related to the belief or attitude in question.⁹

Other general comments found in the literature relative to this scale are presented below:

- (1) Scale reliability depends to a large part upon the number of items in the scale.¹⁰
- (2) The Likert method requires a preliminary group of subjects on whom the items are to be statistically correlated. The scores of the Likert scale have little absolute significance. Scale scores can be interpreted only in terms of where the individual falls in relation to the total distribution of such scores. Extent of pro-ness or con-ness is purely relative to the population of subjects being measured.¹¹
- (3) The Likert technique implies a single common factor model for each dimension of a scale. This is verified by a factor-analysis of the product-moment inter-correlations.¹²
- (4) Items should be judged in advance for validity of scale and subscale placement, but it must be remembered that this is only one test of validity. At this same time items can be judged regarding clarity of intent and the scale can be checked to insure that there is no duplication of items.

Reliability of Scales

Guilford defines reliability as the proportion of variance of a set of measurements which is true variance.¹³ Three types of reliability: internal consistency, equivalence, and stability, may be considered in evaluating test reliability.

⁹Ibid., pp. 211-214.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Bert F. Green, "Attitude Measurement," Handbook of Social Psychology, Gardner Lindzey, editor (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company Inc., 1954), pp. 351-353.

¹³J. P. Guilford, Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), pp. 440-441.

Internal consistency is based on internal analysis of scales, usually involving a split-half technique with Likert scales. Equivalence is determined by administering and comparing the results of two parallel forms of the same instrument. Stability is determined by the test-retest method, administering a scale on two occasions separated by a suitable time interval to the same respondents.¹⁴

Validity of Scales

Ebel¹⁵ discusses two general categories of validity: direct and derived. Direct validity depends upon rational analysis and professional judgment. Derived validity depends upon empirical and statistical evidence. Five types of validity are listed under each category.

Direct

Validity by definition
Content validity
Curricular validity
Face validity
Intrinsic validity

Derived

Empirical validity
Concurrent validity
Predictive validity
Factorial validity
Construct validity

Of these types of validity the following appeared relevant in the development of this scale.

- (1) Content validity: the adequacy of sampling of a specified universe of content. In this case the universe would consist of all pupil attitudes, within the defined boundaries, toward the school.
- (2) Face validity: refers not to what a test necessarily measures, but what it appears to measure. The use of judges is an attempt to determine this type of validity.

¹⁴American Psychological Association, Technical Recommendations for Psychological Tests and Diagnostic Techniques (Washington: American Psychological Association, 1954), p. 28.

¹⁵Robert L. Ebel, Measuring Educational Achievement, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1965), pp. 380-381.

- (3) Factorial validity: the correlation between an item and the factor common to a group of items based on a factor analysis of data. This procedure may follow item analysis and correlational analysis of item with subscale.
- (4) Construct validity: what a test means or signifies, what it tells us about a subject, what trait it identifies to help us understand the pupil. This may be determined by correlating what judges say about subjects with what the measurement tells about them.

Alienation

In his analysis of the meaning of alienation Seeman¹⁶ identifies what he considers to be five ways in which alienation has been used. His purposes in this identification are "to make more organized sense of one of the great traditions in sociological thought; and to make the traditional interest in alienation more amenable to sharp empirical statement."¹⁷ He examines alienation from the social-psychological point of view, that is from the standpoint of the actor, and he suggests that future research may determine the social conditions which produce the five variants and their behavioral consequences.¹⁸

The present study was concerned with measuring alienation as defined by Seeman, and in relating the degree of alienation of high school pupils to selected structural characteristics of the school.

The five distinguishable usages presented by Seeman are powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and

¹⁶Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), 783.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 784.

self-estrangement.

Powerlessness. Powerlessness is defined as the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks.¹⁹ The expectancy is that of the individual; it is not the discrepancy between the control he may expect and the degree he desires; it is related to the internal versus external control of reinforcements. Seeman is concerned with the perceptions of the participant not the perceptions of an observer. He is not concerned with the individual's judgment against some standard other than his own.²⁰

In measuring powerlessness in the context defined it is necessary to define some outcomes or reinforcements which the pupil might, through school attendance, be seeking. The situation may become very complex if we consider that, "there is no set of fixed needs and demands-limited, immutable, inescapable, universal."²¹ However, Kuhlen suggests that generally the needs of adolescents can be classified as follows:

- (1) The need for status and acceptance.
- (2) The desire for personal independence.

¹⁹Ibid. (Italics in original have been omitted.)

²⁰Ibid., 784-785.

²¹Raymond G. Kuhlen, The Psychology of Adolescent Development (New York: Harper Bros., 1952), pp. 47 ff.

- (3) Vocational and material needs.
- (4) The need to adhere to codes and ideals.
- (5) The need for understanding and long-range purpose.
- (6) Sex and other biological needs.

1. The need for status and acceptance.

This represents the common need for a secure position and a sense of belongingness in one's home and family, in one's actual or desired social set, or among one's colleagues at school or at work. Such a sense of security depends upon the existence of relationships involving affection, mutual trust, confidence and respect, and freedom from threat and frustration. This need is especially significant during adolescence.

2. The desire for independence.

This represents freedom of action and decision, and self-determination.

3. Vocational and material needs.

These involve more than a job goal. They may involve a desire for mastery, an avarice for material possessions, love of a type of activity, and a desire for future prestige and prominence.

4. Adherence to codes and ideals.

As a person grows he makes the standards and norms of a culture his own, and in this way the need to conform to society's demands becomes a personal need. Moral beliefs and other personal values constitute the value system in terms of

which conformity is guided. Failure to operate within this framework causes stresses because needs are not being met.

5. The need for understanding and completeness.

Because man is able to think, he seeks to understand and to understand completely. This need is typical among adolescents because their intellectual maturity permits broader investigation than before, and because the abstractions previously encountered are now being questioned.²²

To examine the powerlessness component of alienation among pupils in the school, it was not considered necessary to examine the degree to which pupils achieved all their needs, nor was it deemed necessary to provide an equal number of items for the examination of those needs selected for study. It seemed logical to omit the examination of the degree of achievement of biological needs.

The items used were selected to measure whether or not pupils felt that their own behavior would lead to the achievement of the outcomes they sought. Although the needs of adolescents were previously indicated likely to be common to all, this did not necessarily mean that the intensity of a need would be common for all. Since each pupil would be responding in terms of what he considered to be the situation for him, either directly in response to an item, or indirectly when it was assumed that he might reveal his own feeling when he was asked about his perception of the opportunities for other pupils, it was not

²²Ibid.

necessary to begin with the definition of an ideal or common level of achievement or expectancy for all pupils.

Meaninglessness. Meaninglessness is characterized by a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made.²³ This refers to the individual's sense of understanding of the events in which he is engaged; his minimal standards for clarity in decision-making are not met; and he cannot predict the consequences of the actions he selects. Here, as in the discussion of powerlessness, concern is focused upon the individual member of the organization and his reaction to the organizational environment. This alienation form results when the organizational situation is increasingly rationally planned and controlled to most efficiently achieve given ends, and there is a decrease in the individual's latitude of decision regarding his own future, in his understanding of the events in which he is engaged, and in his ability to predict the outcomes of his own behavior.

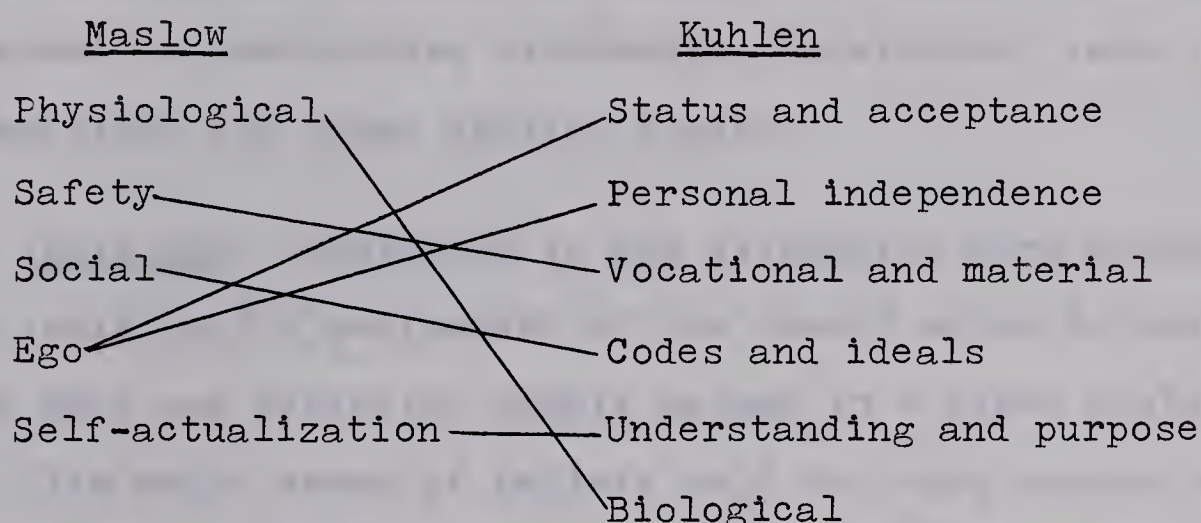
Once again it was necessary to consider outcomes about which pupils would be most likely to be concerned. Maslow²⁴ suggests that adult needs can be arranged hierarchically as follows:

²³Seeman, op. cit., p. 786. (Italics in original have been omitted.)

²⁴Abraham H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper Brothers, 1954), p. 80 ff.

1. Physiological.
2. Safety.
3. Social.
4. Ego.
5. Self-actualization.

The inter-relationships between these needs and those attributed to adolescents by Kuhlen can be readily demonstrated.



Other linkages might also be shown but these are adequate in this context.

Normlessness. Normlessness occurs in the situation in which the individual demonstrates a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals.²⁵ Traditionally this has been described as a situation in which norms for individual conduct cease to be effective rules of behavior. In an organization such as the school the prescribed goals for and the needs of individual pupils may be extremely

²⁵Seeman, op. cit., p. 787. (Italics in original have been omitted.)

difficult or impossible to achieve using legitimate means. If the choice is made to use illegitimate means, the result is individualism and a manipulative attitude on the part of pupils.

The items in this subscale presented either direct or indirect statements about pupil behavior. They were concerned with the day-to-day behavior of pupils. Unapproved behavior was assumed to demonstrate dishonesty, unfairness, lack of consideration, and other similar traits.

Isolation. Isolation is the alienation form characterized by the individual's assignment of low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in a given society.²⁶

Five major areas of beliefs held by young people were studied and reported by Havighurst and Taba.²⁷ These areas of belief included friendliness, honesty, loyalty, moral courage, and responsibility. The following comments summarize the findings about the areas.

1. The prevailing concept of friendliness is that of being amiable and accommodating to all people, being popular, and having many friends. Friendliness is subordinated to the urgency of lessons, and to honesty.
2. Standards of honesty are the most widely and unquestioningly accepted. The concept is dominated by ideas about the use of property and telling the truth.

²⁶Ibid., p. 789. (Italics in original have been omitted.)

²⁷Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, Adolescent Character and Personality (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1949), pp. 83-87.

3. Beliefs in the area of loyalty seem to be confused and uncertain. Loyalty to friends is often subordinated to other values; loyalty to the school is limited to obeying school rules; loyalty to leaders is qualified in terms of agreement with them; and loyalty to ideas, principles, and other values is least developed.
4. The strongest aspect of moral courage is that of defending and protecting one's own rights and the rights of others. There is strong feeling to defend others against gossip. However, doubt is expressed about action which might displease authorities or peers. Following the group, even in wrongdoing, is rather highly approved.
5. Standards of responsibility are highly developed, and they are applied under a variety of circumstances. Duties toward school are taken seriously; punctuality is highly approved; high standards are set for others; there is a great assurance that the first duty of the student is toward success both in and out of school.

The items developed for this subscale were directly related to the five areas identified above.

Self-Estrangement. Self-estrangement is the alienation form displayed by the individual who is highly dependent on the anticipated future rewards for a given behavior rather than rewards intrinsic to the activity.²⁸ The pupil who works only for marks, who takes no pride in his daily performance except as it relates to future reward, who always considers the desirability of his behavior in terms of its effect on others, is displaying self-estrangement. This other-direction becomes a part of his self-estrangement since the pupil feels that nothing which he possesses or which he may produce will be valued for itself, but only for its effect upon others. In

²⁸Seeman, op. cit., p. 790. (Italics in original have been omitted.)

the same way, when the pupil considers that school attendance and the required activity involved is only a means of achieving some future personal vocational or other goal, he is displaying self-estrangement as defined here.

The items prepared for this subscale covered a wide range of activities in which pupils participate in the school. Both curricular and extra-curricular activities were included within the range.

Previously Developed Alienation Scales

Alienation From Society. Two scales are quite well-known and have been used in more than one research project. These are Srole's²⁹ anomie scale and Nettler's alienation scale.³⁰ Both appear to measure alienation with reference to the broad social context. Srole's scale is intended to measure the individual's sense of belongingness between self and others compared with the alienation characterized by distance between self and others. Although in a general way this can be related to Seeman's dimensions, it cannot be categorically placed under any one. Nettler's scale is claimed to measure estrangement from society. An examination of the items suggests that it may measure several of Seeman's dimensions of alienation and again in a societal context. If the items of either scale

²⁹Dorothy I. Maier and Wendell Bell, "Anomie and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life's Goals," American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1959), 189-201.

³⁰Gwynn Nettler, "Anti-Social Sentiment and Criminality," American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1959), 202-208.

were to be used in this study, three procedures were necessary. The items would require rewording to measure alienation from the school; they would require adaptation to Likert scaling; they would require classification under Seeman's dimensions.

Neal's scale³¹ has also been used in several studies. This scale is claimed to measure powerlessness and normlessness in the societal context. The scale is aimed toward measuring the political and economic aspects of the alienation dimensions.

Dean's³² is a twenty-four item scale claimed to measure powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation.

Other scales which have been used to measure alienation from society are Besag's, a combination of adapted Srole and Nettler items;³³ Streuning and Richardson's,³⁴ another combination with some added items; Middleton's³⁵ six-item, six dimension scale; and Davids' Questionnaire.³⁶

These scales constitute almost the total of the attempts to measure in this way the degree of alienation from society.

³¹Arthur G. Neal, "Stratification Concomitants of Powerlessness and Normlessness: A Study of Political and Economic Alienation" (unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, 1959), pp. 91-94.

³²Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy" (unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, 1956), pp. 131-133.

³³Frank B. Besag, Alienation and Education (Buffalo: Hertillon Press, 1966), Appendix I.

³⁴Elmer L. Streuning and Arthur M. Richardson, "A Factor Analytic Exploration of Alienation, Anomia, and the Authoritarianism Domain," American Sociological Review, XXX (October, 1965), 768-776.

³⁵Russell Middleton, "Alienation, Race and Education," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (December, 1963), 973-977.

³⁶Anthony Davids, "Alienation, Social Apperception, and Ego Structure," Journal of Consulting Psychology, XIX (February, 1955), 21-27.

In spite of the criticisms which may be aimed by casual observers at the validity of the items or scales, the literature is relatively devoid of criticism of these scales.

Alienation from Organizations. Several studies report attempts to measure alienation in an organizational context. Clark's³⁷ scale was used to measure the degree of alienation of farmer members of an agricultural cooperative. The scale is claimed to measure only the powerlessness dimension. Pearlin's³⁸ scale is claimed to measure powerlessness and estrangement among nursing personnel in a hospital. Aiken and Hage³⁹ used a scale in the study of welfare organizations. It was based on definitions of alienation expressed in terms of distrust and dissatisfaction. Although related to Seeman's definitions, neither of these attitudes could be equated to be congruent with any one of the dimensions presented by Seeman. Seeman's study of alienation in a hospital⁴⁰ and in a reformatory⁴¹ employed Neal's powerlessness scale. No attempt was made to

³⁷John P. Clark, "Measuring Alienation in a Social System," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), 849-852.

³⁸Leonard I. Pearlin, "Alienation from Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel," American Sociological Review, XXVII (June, 1962), 314-326.

³⁹Michael Aiken and Jerald Hage, "Organizational Alienation: A Comparative Analysis," American Sociological Review, XXI (August, 1966), 497-507.

⁴⁰Melvin Seeman and John W. Evans, "Alienation and Learning in a Hospital Setting," American Sociological Review, XXVII (December, 1962), 777-782.

⁴¹Melvin Seeman, "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," American Journal of Sociology, LXIX (November, 1963), 270-284.

develop a measure of alienation toward the organization, nor were the various dimensions of alienation explored. Moeller's⁴² study of school systems measured the teacher's sense of power. His definition, based upon Seeman's powerlessness definition, states that "a teacher's sense of power refers to the extent to which the teacher believes he is able to influence the course of events in the school system which hold significance for him."

Related Scales. The Omnibus Personality Inventory contains a 74-item schizoid functioning subscale. According to the research manual:

The high scorers admit to attitudes and behaviors that characterize socially alienated persons. Along with feelings of isolation, loneliness, and rejection, they may intentionally avoid others and experience feelings of hostility and aggression.⁴³

The items are to some degree similar to alienation scale items but it would be difficult to classify them under Seeman's five dimensions if face validity were the only criterion. Very few items make any direct reference to the school and the relationship of the respondent to the school.

The Billett-Starr Youth Problem Inventory⁴⁴ contains a subscale entitled School Life. The inventory claims to identify the problems of individual students. Validity and reliability have been considered in a subjective manner. There are no

⁴²Gerald H. Moeller, "The Relationship Between Bureaucracy in the School System Organization and the Teacher's Sense of Power" (unpublished Ed. D. Thesis, Washington University, St. Louis, 1962), pp. 60-61.

⁴³Omnibus Personality Inventory (Berkeley: University of California, 1962).

⁴⁴Billett-Starr Youth Problems Inventory (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961).

conventional coefficients reported. Some of the items appear suitable for adaptation for inclusion in a scale intended to measure pupil alienation from the school.

The California Test of Personality⁴⁵ designed for all grades from kindergarten to adult, contains two subscales from which items might be adapted. These subscales are entitled Social Standards and School Relations. The social standards subscale measures the individual's understanding of what is right and what is wrong. The school relations subscale examines the feeling on the part of the student that he counts for something in the life of the institution.

⁴⁵Lewis P. Thorpe, et al., California Test of Personality (Los Angeles: California Test Bureau, 1953).

III. THE INITIAL SCALE

PUPIL ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

PART I

1. The main value to be gained in school club membership is that it helps to prepare you for citizenship.
2. Whether pupils like it or not, luck plays an important part in their success at school.
3. It is worth missing some fun now to ensure success later.
4. If I didn't need credit in some subjects for graduation, I would drop them.
5. Even when I know that I have done well, my teachers do not seem to give me much credit.
6. If homework assignments were not required, I would seldom do homework.
7. There is not much that pupils can do to affect what they are to study at school.
8. The school principal is really interested in all pupils in this school.
9. My school work is very important to me now.
10. No matter what pupils do they cannot please many of the teachers in this school.
11. It bothers me when other pupils do not approve of something I've done.
12. So many other pupils do things well that it is easy to become discouraged in this school.
13. In this school pupils can complain to the principal and be given a fair hearing.
14. Pupils should try to do well even in those subjects they dislike because they are necessary for future success.
15. The pupils who live only for today and forget about tomorrow are fooling only themselves.

16. If a choice must be made between pleasing my teachers or pleasing my fellow pupils, I will choose pleasing my teachers.
17. For most pupils their choice of future vocations is limited severely when the school will not allow them to register in some programs.
18. No matter how I try, I don't seem to understand the content of my courses very well.
19. I seem to be able to pass exams at school even when I don't try too hard.
20. I often feel left out of things at school.
21. Nowadays a pupil may as well enjoy school life, live pretty well from day to day, and let tomorrow take care of itself.
22. I don't enjoy most of the school work that I am required to do, but I do it anyway in order that I can get other things that I want.
23. The school experiences of pupils are controlled by plans devised by others.
24. It doesn't pay to waste your time at school doing things that will not have some future value.
25. I was satisfied with the grades on my last report card.
26. I find it easy to please my teachers.
27. I read more books than are required for my classes.
28. Schools are run by others and there is little that pupils can do about it.
29. Pupils often are given the opportunity to express their ideas about how the school ought to be run.
30. Pupils who are not interested in university don't really count for much in this school.
31. The teachers will not listen to pupil complaints about unfair school rules.
32. The things that most pupils in the school would like to do are in agreement with what the teachers and principals want.

33. Highly successful pupils were lucky to have been born with high intelligence.
34. Even if I get the best out of the abilities I have, I will never achieve success in this school.
35. There is only one way to do things in this school: that is the teachers' way.
36. The reason I endure some unpleasant things now is because I feel that it will benefit me later on.
37. Most of the content of my courses is very interesting.
38. I don't really know how to change my behavior at school in order to achieve a higher degree of success.
39. In discipline cases the pupil's explanation of the circumstances is carefully weighed by the school authorities before punishment is decided upon.
40. Most unsuccessful pupils need only to work harder to succeed.
41. Participation in athletic activities is a waste of time unless you can be a star.
42. As time passes I feel more and more concerned about what is happening to me at school.
43. I am nervous when I make a formal presentation before my class.
44. I try quite hard at school in order to please my parents.
45. No matter how hard most pupils try, they cannot become a member of one of the school athletic teams.
46. There really isn't much use complaining to the teachers about the school because it is impossible to influence them anyway.
47. I study hard at school mainly because I want to get good grades.
48. In this school the teachers are the rulers and the pupils are the slaves.
49. Pupils have adequate opportunities to protect themselves when their interests conflict with the interests of those who run the school.
50. I would work harder at school if I thought that I could win an honor award.

51. No matter how hard I try I can't seem to improve my study habits.
52. Pupil achievements in extra-curricular activities are recognized and highly valued by teachers.
53. Pupils have to obey school rules whether the rules are fair or not.
54. In spite of what people say about today's schools, a pupil's school life is getting worse.
55. I often read and study in my courses beyond what is required by my teachers.
56. I achieve what I consider to be satisfactory grades in my school subjects.
57. Pupils are often faced with deciding whether or not to please other pupils or to please the teachers.
58. The teachers' criticism doesn't bother me.
59. I would rather go to work now than go to school, but more education now will help me to get a better job later.
60. I think my teachers would have given me the same marks on the last report card no matter how well I really had done.
61. If I had the chance to become another more desirable kind of person, I would do it without hesitation.
62. Pupils in this school are given considerable freedom in planning their own programs to meet their future needs.
63. I often worry about what my teachers think of me.
64. I always select courses which I think I will like whether or not they will help me in the future.
65. Pupils must be very careful to make the best possible impression with their teachers.
66. It is difficult to understand why we must do some of the required activities at school.
67. I get more satisfaction from doing an assignment well than from the marks which I receive on the assignment.
68. Pupils' ideas about how the school should be run are often adopted in this school.

69. Those pupils who are very able and are always in the limelight are very lucky.
70. I like to do extra problems in mathematics for fun.

PUPIL ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

PART II

1. Pupils should report other pupils who have violated school rules.
2. Through my efforts at school I will be able in the future to influence the way people live in my community.
3. Pupils in this school often take things belonging to others.
4. What you do at school really doesn't matter as long as you have fun doing it.
5. I know that I will achieve a high school diploma.
6. As a result of my school experiences I know what I will do when I graduate.
7. Things are changing so fast at school these days that a pupil doesn't know what to expect from day to day.
8. My present school studies will help me to understand others.
9. Apple-polishing works for many pupils in this school.
10. Pupils must take advantage of every opportunity, fair or unfair, because good opportunities occur very infrequently at this school.
11. It is more important that pupils choose an occupation which provides an opportunity to serve others than to choose one which promises prosperity.
12. In reporting laboratory experiments it is best to report expected results when the experiment fails to show what you had hoped.
13. It is possible on the basis of the level of my present school achievement, to predict with a high degree of accuracy, the level of achievement I can expect in adulthood.
14. I want to finish high school.
15. I know that I will complete my high school education.

16. Pupils should try to save their money for the future even if they must do without some things at the present.
17. I enjoy most of the same TV programs that other pupils in my grade enjoy.
18. Participation in students' union activities will help me in anything I try to do in the future.
19. Participation in students' union activities will assist one to become a good citizen.
20. Failure is a greater problem in this school than most teachers will admit.
21. What I am doing at school will assist me to do what I want when I graduate.
22. The only way to succeed at this school is to study hard and do all the work that is required.
23. Most teachers are too concerned with the way pupils should behave after school hours.
24. My school experiences will help me to become a good citizen.
25. Sometimes pupils have to misbehave at school to show teachers that they have a problem.
26. A pupil must be prepared to do almost anything to achieve some of the highest rewards this school offers.
27. These days a pupil doesn't really know who he can count on.
28. Having lots of friends is more important than is getting ahead at school.
29. It doesn't matter too much if what I am doing is right or wrong, as long as it works.
30. I think that I can now predict what I can achieve in an occupation after graduation.
31. Because of my success at school I know that I can choose any course of study or any vocation after high school and be successful in it.
32. In order to get ahead in this school pupils are almost forced to do some things which are not right.
33. Conflict between teachers and pupils is generally hushed-up in this school.

34. Pupil strikes should be organized when the school authorities make unreasonable demands on pupils.
35. Honesty is always the best policy at school.
36. There are many pupils who don't know what to do at school in order to ensure future success.
37. You can't really trust too many other pupils.
38. White lies are justified when they help to avoid punishment.
39. The students' union executive is composed mainly of those pupils who are teachers' pets.
40. It is better to give an excuse of some kind than to admit that you haven't done your homework.
41. High scholastic achievement is the most desirable goal for all pupils.
42. In this school success is sometimes achieved by pupils using methods that are usually discouraged by teachers.
43. If I had my way I'd close all schools.
44. It is most important that right always be achieved even if it requires tremendous effort.
45. Pupils should have most of their time free from study.
46. Pupils must try to develop an interest in their school subjects even when the content is dull.
47. If other pupils are doing something in violation to school rules, it is best to go along with them.
48. There are so many ideas about what is right and what is wrong these days that it is hard to figure out how to become an ideal pupil.
49. Giving an answer to someone else during an examination is not really cheating.
50. Life is so short that we should always get all we can from it.
51. Many pupils in our school are interested only in themselves and don't care about anyone else.
52. Usually I would rather play hookey than come to school.

53. It is hard to determine whom you can trust these days.
54. There are many pupils in this school who are so concerned with success that they will do anything to achieve it.
55. Copying another pupil's homework is justified if he agrees to let you do it.
56. In this school success is to be aimed for by any means that pupils can devise.
57. Pupils should have to work hard at school.
58. I can and often do avoid unpleasant school tasks by pretending to be sick.
59. I understand why the rules affecting pupils were made in this school.
60. Each pupil must be concerned with his own success regardless of the consequences for other pupils.
61. Most pupils taking the senior matriculation program are not very sure if they will successfully finish.
62. Really, a pupil has done wrong only if he gets caught.
63. It is more important that our friends like us than that we get high marks.
64. It really isn't necessary to be very popular with other pupils at school.
65. It doesn't matter too much if you hurt the feelings of another pupil.
66. Many successful people about whom we study broke the rules when they thought it was necessary.
67. In this school being nice to the teachers is more important than is hard work.
68. Sometimes it helps to exaggerate your abilities to your teachers.
69. The completion of a high school education is almost a guarantee that a pupil can expect to be able as an adult to provide all the things he needs for himself and his family.
70. Quite often the teachers don't do what they say they are going to do.

71. Sometimes it is necessary to make promises to school authorities which you don't intend to keep.
72. It is more important to achieve enjoyment and personal satisfaction than to sacrifice yourself for others.
73. At school we learn habits and attitudes which will guide us in the achievement of a good life.
74. It is very desirable that pupils learn to be good citizens.
75. I know that I will continue to attend high school until I finish grade twelve.
76. It is all right to use the talents of others to further your own success.
77. My school studies will help me to make predictions about the kind of world in which I will live in the future.
78. I don't really care what happens to pupils whom I don't know.
79. Pupils who are most successful at school will also be most successful following graduation from school.
80. It is necessary to misbehave at school if you're going to have any fun.
81. Success after graduation is so dependent upon luck that a pupil really doesn't know what to do to ensure future success.
82. A pupil is justified in following shortcuts wherever he can in his school work.
83. It is unlikely that in this school the pupils will achieve the goals in which they believe.
84. I understand how decisions are made regarding what we are to study in this school.
85. The school is one of society's most important and useful institutions.
86. The school should provide equal opportunities for all pupils to succeed.
87. In order to achieve honors standing some pupils do things which are not really honest.
88. Some pupils in this school have "pull" with the teachers.

89. Because of my choice of subjects at school and my success in them, I know that I will be successful in the vocation which I choose later.
90. It is a good policy to tell teachers only what they want to hear.
91. What we do at school will help us to affect the world in which we live.
92. Most of the required activity at school will have value for me at some future time.
93. Many pupils will be unhappy after graduation because they can't determine now what they want out of life.
94. Copying parts of essays from books is justified if this results in good marks on the essays.

IV. THE PILOT STUDY

Introduction⁴⁶

In mid-December 164 items⁴⁷ which had been previously prepared and submitted to a panel of judges, were administered to 180 pupils in grades 10, 11, and 12, registered in programs as shown in Table I, in one Edmonton high school. One hundred sixty-three pupils answered both parts of the questionnaire. Their responses provided the data for the analysis reported below.

TABLE XXXIII

NUMBER OF PUPILS RESPONDING TO SCALE PARTS I AND II
BY PROGRAM REGISTRATION

Grade	P R O G R A M		Total
	Matriculation	Diploma	
10	33	25	58
11	32	24	56
12	27	22	49
Total	92	71	163

⁴⁶The procedure used to analyze data and to improve the scale is similar to that used by Andrew Halpin and Don B. Croft in their development of the OCDQ. See Andrew W. Halpin and Don B. Croft, The Organizational Climate of Schools (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), especially pp. 32-36.

⁴⁷Supra., p. 206.

Discrimination Analysis

Subscale items in Parts I and II were as follows:

Part I - Powerlessness (43 items) -- 2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 42, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 66, 68, 69.

Part I - Self-Estrangement (27 items) -- 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 24, 27, 36, 37, 41, 43, 44, 47, 55, 58, 59, 63, 64, 65, 67, 70.

Part II- Normlessness (31 items) -- 1, 9, 10, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29, 32, 33, 34, 37, 39, 40, 42, 51, 54, 56, 62, 66, 67, 68, 71, 76, 80, 82, 87, 88, 90, 94.

Part II- Meaninglessness (32 items) -- 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 24, 27, 30, 31, 36, 48, 53, 59, 61, 69, 70, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 84, 89, 91, 92, 93.

Part II- Isolation (31 items) -- 3, 4, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 28, 35, 38, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 55, 57, 58, 60, 63, 64, 65, 72, 74, 78, 85, 86.

An alpha level of 0.01, one-tailed t-test was used to determine whether or not each item discriminated between the quarter of the pupils with high and the quarter with low subscale totals. This resulted in the deletion of items as follows:

Powerlessness: (6 items) -- 19, 25, 50, 56, 61, 69.

Self-Estrangement: (5 items) -- 16, 24, 41, 58, 64.

Normlessness: (2 items) -- 22, 51.

Meaninglessness: (3 items) -- 36, 79, 93.

Isolation (3 items) -- 3, 11, 64.

The remaining one hundred forty-five items discriminated beyond the 0.01 level between the high and low scoring quarters of the total group of 163 pupils.

Correlation of Each Item with Subscale Total

A Pearson r was calculated for each item with other items and with the subscale total. Using Table F, Critical Values of the Correlation Coefficient⁴⁸ and $\alpha = 0.01$, two-tailed, a criterion for $n \geq 100 = 0.254$ was used. Using this criterion the following additional items were deleted:

Powerlessness: (6 items) -- 7, 20, 42, 52, 53, 57.

Self-Estrangement: (5 items) -- 14, 21, 27, 37, 44.

Normlessness: (2 items) -- 1, 66.

Meaninglessness: (5 items) -- 2, 7, 31, 61, 69.

Isolation: (2 items) -- 17, 50.

Factor Analysis

Ninety-eight of the remaining 125 items were selected for a preliminary factor analysis calling for five factors. The criterion r previously used was 0.254. For this selection

⁴⁸George A. Ferguson, Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education (Toronto: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959), p. 315.

of items the criterion value of r for item-subscale total correlation was as follows:

Powerlessness	--	0.38
Self-Estrangement	--	0.26
Normlessness	--	0.40
Meaninglessness	--	0.32
Isolation	--	0.34

In each case r is somewhat larger than the minimum criterion of 0.254, that r is significantly different from zero ($\mathcal{L} = 0.01$).

The analysis resulted in a favorable clustering of heavy item loadings within factors as shown in Table XXXIV.

TABLE XXXIV

CLUSTERING OF ITEMS, VARIMAX ROTATION:
98 ITEM MATRIX

Factor Subscale	I	II	III	IV	V	T
Powerlessness	1	15		4	1	21
Self- Estrangement			9	8		17
Normlessness	19			1		20
Meaninglessness	2	1	2	1	14	20
Isolation	7		11	2		20
T	29	16	22	16	15	98

On the strength of the above clustering of items factors were tentatively identified as follows:

- I -- Normlessness
- II -- Powerlessness
- III -- Isolation
- IV -- Self-Estrangement
- V -- Meaninglessness

From the 98 item factor matrix two combinations of 60 items were selected for further analysis. The factor matrix described in Table XXXV resulted from the analysis of 12 items with highest loadings by row from each column in the 98 item factor matrix. Other combinations of 60 items could have been chosen from the 124 items meeting the two criteria -- discrimination 0.01 level, and significance of difference of \bar{r} from 0, again 0.01 level. Some of the others might have more strongly supported the placement of items in subscales based upon the intuitive judgment used when the pilot study scale was developed. Placement supported by the factor analyses which were conducted provided empirical support for item by subscale rearrangement and was supported quite strongly by a reconsideration of item placement using the judgmental procedure.

The item by factor matrix, Table XXXV, demonstrates that with the exception of three, the items clustered under factors as hypothesized. The exceptions were items 55 and 90 of Part II which possessed heavy loadings on Isolation in the 98 item -- 5 factor matrix, and item 84 of Part II which loaded equally heavily under factors III and V.

TABLE XXXV

FINAL FACTOR ANALYSIS INCLUDING ITEM NUMBERS, COMMUNALITIES,
LOADINGS, AND EIGENVALUES
(VARIMAX ROTATION)

Subscale	Items	Communalities	I	II	III	IV	V
Power- lessness	8	36*	01*	55	01	13	20
	13	56	20	70	-03	13	14
	23	29	17	42	14	12	23
	28	46	05	64	18	10	11
	29	55	12	73	-04	08	02
	31	39	31	45	21	17	16
	39	42	14	58	-02	25	-06
	46	58	39	56	31	-13	00
	48	55	35	55	31	-15	-07
	49	48	06	63	28	06	-01
	62	47	17	57	11	32	-02
	68	49	01	67	-19	12	02
Self- Estrangement	6	30	15	-03	50	15	10
	18	36	-25	22	47	10	13
	26	42	-02	44	47	-08	01
	55	29	01	-05	48	04	24
	59	31	25	04	49	-08	02
	60	30	26	14	42	-08	16
	67	17	11	-00	36	09	13
	70	37	-00	04	56	23	-05
	27	31	07	07	52	03	-17
	32	50	43	22	47	04	-21
	45	27	15	12	45	13	11
	52	47	32	14	53	23	11
Norm- lessness	10	37	57	15	12	-04	-08
	29	36	51	19	18	06	17
	38	40	53	01	29	07	17
	49	47	-61	-12	-04	-28	-02
	55	34	41	-02	19	30	20
	56	42	60	23	05	09	-03
	62	40	53	01	19	29	03
	71	50	60	22	13	27	09
	72	24	48	05	-06	-03	-01
	74	40	54	16	-00	20	18
	80	40	54	19	23	12	02
	83	24	48	06	04	-00	-01
	90	24	41	-01	16	-17	13
	94	31	52	-02	12	15	05
Meaning- lessness	6	35	-07	02	02	05	58
	8	31	13	-01	-04	32	44
	13	41	02	-01	-22	03	60
	18	29	-02	14	14	-25	44
	19	27	26	22	06	-04	39
	21	34	14	-06	16	23	48
	24	32	28	10	16	17	42
	30	27	-04	-12	12	-02	49
	73	36	02	09	12	39	43
	77	22	12	11	11	-08	41
	84	26	02	20	32	-13	32
	91	27	01	02	-02	22	47
Isolation	36	38	-24	10	13	-54	-10
	47	30	02	-12	-07	-53	-02
	63	29	11	-23	-08	-45	-15
	65	27	20	03	-03	-48	-04
	14	37	19	20	33	43	-02
	15	27	26	20	06	40	04
	28	26	29	11	14	38	04
	43	33	25	-06	35	37	06
	44	43	29	-01	15	41	39
	46	36	24	-05	24	49	-04
Totals		21.67	5.64	5.15	4.12	3.45	3.31
Eigenvalues			10.01	3.85	2.95	2.56	2.29

* Decimals have been omitted

TABLE XXXVI

TRANSFORMATION MATRIX FOR VARIMAX FROM
PRINCIPAL AXIS

-.63	-.50	-.46	-.31	-.23
-.11	.71	-.05	-.51	-.48
-.60	.46	-.12	.21	.61
-.37	-.17	.87	-.28	.04
-.31	.08	.14	.73	-.58

The following item shifts occurred from the originally hypothesized item subscale placement to the final subscale placement.

Powerlessness	--	none
Self-Estrangement	--	3 from powerlessness (18, 26, 60) 1 from meaninglessness (27) 1 from normlessness (32) 2 from isolation (45, 52)
Normlessness	--	5 from isolation (38, 49, 55, 72, 74) 1 from meaninglessness (62)
Meaninglessness	--	none
Isolation	--	4 from self-estrangement (36, 47, 63, 65) 1 from meaninglessness (15)

Examination of the items does not discredit the shift which is quite strongly supported by the factor loadings.

Reliability

The correlational and factor analysis provided evidence to support the internal consistency of subscales. It was

proposed that a test-retest be done in one school to examine what may be called temporal reliability.

Validity

Item correlation with subscale total is one measure of item validity. Similarly factor analysis provides empirical support. It was proposed that when data from the schools in the study sample were available, correlations and the factor analysis profile would be re-examined. Also it was proposed that in one high school with enrolment 100 - 400, where teachers were more likely to be personally acquainted with pupils, the teachers be asked to rank pupils who had been rated using the questionnaire. The correlation between teacher and questionnaire ranking would provide additional evidence regarding questionnaire validity.

Conclusion

Item discrimination, correlation, and factor analysis provided empirical support for the selection of items for the scale. It was proposed that the 60 items presented in Appendix B be approved by the Committee for use in the measurement of pupil alienation in high schools.

When approval was received, the items were rearranged in random order without subscale identification and were listed under the title Pupil Attitude Questionnaire. The questionnaire was subsequently administered to high school pupils who were included in the study sample for this research project.

V. THE FINAL SCALE

Powerlessness Items

8. The school principal is really interested in all pupils in this school.
13. In this school pupils can complain to the principal and be given a fair hearing.
23. The school experiences of pupils are controlled by plans devised by others.
28. Schools are run by others and there is little that pupils can do about it.
29. Pupils often are given the opportunity to express their ideas about how the school ought to be run.
31. The teachers will not listen to pupil complaints about unfair school rules.
39. In discipline cases the pupil's explanation of the circumstances is carefully weighed by the school authorities before punishment is decided upon.
46. There really isn't much use complaining to the teachers about the school because it is impossible to influence them anyway.
48. In this school the teachers are the rulers and the pupils are the slaves.
49. Pupils have adequate opportunities to protect themselves when their interests conflict with the interests of those who run the school.
62. Pupils in this school are given considerable freedom in planning their own programs to meet their future needs.
68. Pupils' ideas about how the school should be run are often adopted in this school.

Self-Estrangement Items

6. If homework assignments were not required, I would seldom do homework.
18. No matter how I try, I don't seem to understand the content of my courses very well.

- 26. I find it easy to please my teachers.
- 55. I often read and study in my courses beyond what is required by my teachers.
- 59. I would rather go to work now than go to school, but more education now will help me to get a better job later.
- 60. I think my teachers would have given me the same marks on the last report card no matter how well I really had done.
- 67. I get more satisfaction from doing an assignment well than from the marks which I receive on the assignment.
- 70. I like to do extra problems in mathematics for fun.
- 27. These days a pupil doesn't really know who he can count on.
- 32. In order to get ahead in this school pupils are almost forced to do some things which are not right.
- 45. Pupils should have most of their time free from study.
- 52. Usually I would rather play hookey than come to school.

Normlessness

- 10. Pupils must take advantage of every opportunity, fair or unfair, because good opportunities occur very infrequently at this school.
- 29. It doesn't matter too much if what I am doing is right or wrong, as long as it works.
- 38. White lies are justified when they help to avoid punishment.
- 49. Giving an answer to someone else during an examination is not really cheating.
- 55. Copying another pupil's homework is justified if he agrees to let you do it.
- 56. In this school success is to be aimed for by any means that pupils can devise.
- 62. Really, a pupil has done wrong only if he gets caught.

- 71. Sometimes it is necessary to make promises to school authorities which you don't intend to keep.
- 72. It is more important to achieve enjoyment and personal satisfaction than to sacrifice yourself for others.
- 74. It is very desirable that pupils learn to be good citizens.
- 80. It is necessary to misbehave at school if you're going to have any fun.
- 83. It is unlikely that in this school the pupils will achieve the goals in which they believe.
- 90. It is a good policy to tell teachers only what they want to hear.
- 94. Copying parts of essays from books is justified if this results in good marks on the essays.

Meaninglessness

- 6. As a result of my school experiences I know what I will do when I graduate.
- 8. My present school studies will help me to understand others.
- 13. It is possible on the basis of the level of my present school achievement, to predict with a high degree of accuracy, the level of achievement I can expect in adulthood.
- 18. Participation in students' union activities will help me in anything I try to do in the future.
- 19. Participation in students' union activities will assist one to become a good citizen.
- 21. What I am doing at school will assist me to do what I want when I graduate.
- 24. My school experiences will help me to become a good citizen.
- 30. I think that I can now predict what I can achieve in an occupation after graduation.
- 73. At school we learn habits and attitudes which will guide us in the achievement of a good life.

- 77. My school studies will help me to make predictions about the kind of world in which I will live in the future.
- 84. I understand how decisions are made regarding what we are to study in this school.
- 91. What we do at school will help us to affect the world in which we live.

Isolation

- 36. The reason I endure some unpleasant things now is because I feel that it will benefit me later on.
- 47. I study hard at school mainly because I want to get good grades.
- 63. I often worry about what my teachers think of me.
- 65. Pupils must be very careful to make the best possible impression with their teachers.
- 14. I want to finish high school.
- 15. I know that I will complete my high school education.
- 28. Having lots of friends is more important than is getting ahead at school.
- 43. If I had my way I'd close all schools.
- 44. It is most important that right always be achieved even if it requires tremendous effort.
- 46. Pupils must try to develop an interest in their school subjects even when the content is dull.

APPENDIX F

FACTOR MATCH VARIMAX MATRIX STUDY DATA ROTATED FOR
 MAXIMUM TEST OVERLAP WITH VARIMAX MATRIX PILOT
 STUDY DATA

TABLE XXXVII

FACTOR LOADINGS VARIMAX ROTATION PILOT STUDY DATA

Item	Norm- lessness	Power- lessness	Self- Estrangement	Isolation	Meaning- lessness
43	15*	-03	50	15	10
28	02	55	01	13	20
51	20	70	-03	13	14
40	-25	22	47	10	13
7	17	42	14	-12	-23
54	-02	44	47	-08	01
5	05	64	18	-10	11
13	12	73	-04	08	06
30	31	45	21	17	16
9	-24	10	13	-54	-10
29	14	58	-02	25	-06
8	39	56	31	-13	00
25	02	-12	-07	-53	-02
41	35	55	31	-15	-07
34	06	63	29	06	-01
26	01	-05	48	04	24
32	25	04	49	-09	02
16	26	14	42	-08	16
59	17	57	11	32	-02
22	11	-23	-08	-45	-15
48	20	03	-03	-48	-04
36	11	-00	36	09	13
53	01	67	-19	12	02
39	-01	04	56	23	-05
44	-07	02	02	05	58
47	13	-01	-04	32	44
58	57	15	12	-04	-08
14	02	-01	-22	03	60
55	19	20	33	43	-02
20	26	20	06	40	04
38	-02	14	14	25	44
60	26	22	06	-04	39
33	14	-06	17	23	48
17	28	10	16	17	42
21	07	07	52	03	-17
50	29	11	14	38	04
18	51	19	18	06	17
6	-04	-12	12	-02	49
12	43	22	47	04	-21
1	53	02	29	07	17
49	25	-06	35	37	06
4	29	-01	15	41	39
10	15	12	45	13	11
23	24	-06	24	49	-04
57	-61	-12	-04	-28	-02
31	32	14	53	23	11
52	41	-02	19	30	20
3	60	23	-05	-09	-03
27	53	01	19	29	03
11	60	22	13	27	09
24	48	05	-06	-03	-01
19	02	09	12	39	43
15	54	16	-00	20	18
46	12	11	11	-08	41
56	54	19	23	12	02
42	48	06	04	00	-01
45	02	20	32	-13	32
2	41	-01	16	-17	13
37	01	02	-02	22	47
35	52	-02	12	15	05

* Decimals have been omitted

TABLE XXXVIII

FACTOR LOADINGS VARIMAX ROTATION STUDY DATA ROTATED FOR
MAXIMUM OVERLAP WITH VARIMAX MATRIX PILOT STUDY DATA

Item	Norm- lessness	Power- lessness	Self- Estrangement	Isolation	Meaning- lessness
43	09*	16	38	25	-02
28	11	61	08	13	05
51	16	66	10	10	00
40	08	08	63	-13	05
7	28	25	13	23	07
54	05	22	48	15	05
5	22	48	13	-14	07
13	06	59	03	10	05
30	23	46	16	-04	00
9	-15	01	-16	-23	-14
29	15	58	11	16	02
8	29	48	25	-16	04
25	-05	-04	-31	-44	-01
41	31	47	34	-01	-01
34	06	62	01	07	-01
26	04	15	37	32	05
32	11	05	43	-03	-01
16	35	15	21	-04	08
59	07	37	14	12	08
22	-11	-09	22	-51	-03
48	03	-02	13	-53	-01
36	10	17	10	27	05
53	00	65	05	07	-07
39	-03	15	29	21	-08
44	02	-18	03	-09	44
47	04	-01	-07	-03	53
58	55	22	28	05	00
14	03	-10	04	-17	34
55	08	-08	47	20	12
20	01	-08	61	18	08
38	05	-09	-09	-15	49
60	08	07	-01	04	58
33	04	02	13	17	46
17	09	11	02	16	55
21	21	29	40	-17	-02
50	35	09	26	19	-01
18	62	05	15	19	-02
6	14	-10	-22	-23	-10
12	47	20	19	-03	02
1	56	05	04	13	-02
49	38	02	37	19	-03
4	21	07	01	40	05
10	26	20	23	20	-01
23	27	16	12	43	10
57	-50	-02	-20	-24	-05
31	30	15	47	23	-05
52	57	07	14	31	05
3	49	-01	20	-10	-06
27	59	09	13	22	-05
11	50	22	17	17	-07
24	46	10	-07	09	-03
19	03	08	-02	16	56
15	27	03	04	38	14
46	03	27	21	33	13
56	46	22	25	26	-01
42	36	26	26	05	02
45	-15	41	20	16	03
2	32	03	10	-18	04
37	05	12	-02	16	58
35	25	-07	03	-04	39

* Decimals have been omitted

TABLE XXXIX

COSIME BETWEEN REFERENCE AXES R2 X R1

98*	00	16	06	-07
00	100	04	-02	04
-17	-03	92	36	05
08	-04	-03	-03	100
-01	03	37	-93	-02

* Decimals have been omitted.

TABLE XL

SUMMARY COMPARISON OF ITEM CLUSTERING IN
PILOT STUDY AND STUDY DATA

Subscale	Items in Subscale (Varimax Clustering Pilot Study)	Factor Match (Study Data)	Number of Items Remaining in Cluster	Number of Items Lost	Number of Items Gained
Normlessness	14	17	12	2	5
Powerlessness	12	13	12	0	1
Self- Estrangement	12	10	8	4	2
Isolation	10	10	6	4	4
Meaningless- ness	12	10	9	3	1
Total	60	60	47	13	13

APPENDIX G

PUPIL ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. White lies are justified when they help to avoid punishment.
2. It is a good policy to tell teachers only what they want to hear.
3. In this school success is to be aimed for by any means that pupils can devise.
4. It is most important that right always be achieved even if it requires tremendous effort.
5. Schools are run by others and there is little that pupils can do about it.
6. I think that I can now predict what I can achieve in an occupation after graduation.
7. The school experiences of pupils are controlled by plans devised by others.
8. There really isn't much use complaining to the teachers about the school because it is impossible to influence them anyway.
9. The reason I endure some unpleasant things now is because I feel that it will benefit me later on.
10. Pupils should have most of their time free from study.
11. Sometimes it is necessary to make promises to school authorities which you don't intend to keep.
12. In order to get ahead in this school pupils are almost forced to do some things which are not right.
13. Pupils often are given the opportunity to express their ideas about how the school ought to be run.
14. It is possible on the basis of the level of my present school achievement, to predict with a high degree of accuracy, the level of achievement I can expect in adulthood.
15. It is very desirable that pupils learn to be good citizens.

16. I think my teachers would have given me the same marks on the last report card no matter how well I really had done.
17. My school experiences will help me to become a good citizen.
18. It doesn't matter too much if what I am doing is right or wrong as long as it works.
19. At school we learn habits and attitudes which will guide us in the achievement of a good life.
20. I know that I will complete my high school education.
21. These days a pupil doesn't really know who he can count on.
22. I often worry about what my teachers think of me.
23. Pupils must try to develop an interest in their school subjects even when the content is dull.
24. It is more important to achieve enjoyment and personal satisfaction than to sacrifice yourself for others.
25. I study hard at school mainly because I want to get good grades.
26. I often read and study in my courses beyond what is required by my teachers.
27. Really, a pupil has done wrong only if he gets caught.
28. The school principal is really interested in all pupils in this school.
29. In discipline cases the pupil's explanation of the circumstances is carefully weighed by the school authorities before punishment is decided upon.
30. The teachers will not listen to pupil complaints about unfair school rules.
31. Usually I would rather play hookey than come to school.
32. I would rather go to work now than go to school, but more education now will help me to get a better job later.
33. What I am doing at school will assist me to do what I want when I graduate.

34. Pupils have adequate opportunities to protect themselves when their interests conflict with the interests of those who run the school.
35. Copying parts of essays from books is justified if this results in good marks on the essays.
36. I get more satisfaction from doing an assignment well than from the marks which I receive on the assignment.
37. What we do at school will help us to affect the world in which we live.
38. Participation in students' union activities will help me in anything I try to do in the future.
39. As a result of my school experiences I know what I will do when I graduate.
40. No matter how I try I don't seem to understand the content of my courses very well.
41. In this school the teachers are the rulers and the pupils are the slaves.
42. It is unlikely that in this school the pupils will achieve the goals in which they believe.
43. If homework assignments were not required, I would seldom do homework.
44. I like to do extra problems in mathematics for fun.
45. I understand how decisions are made regarding what we are to study in this school.
46. My school studies will help me to make predictions about the kind of world in which I will live in the future.
47. My present school studies will help me to understand others.
48. Pupils must be very careful to make the best possible impression with their teachers.
49. If I had my way, I'd close all schools.
50. Having lots of friends is more important than is getting ahead at school.
51. In this school pupils can complain to the principal and be given a fair hearing.

52. Copying another pupil's homework is justified if he agrees to let you do it.
53. Pupils' ideas about how the school should be run are often adopted in this school.
54. I find it easy to please my teachers.
55. I want to finish high school.
56. It is necessary to misbehave at school if you're going to have any fun.
57. Giving an answer to someone else during an examination is not really cheating.
58. Pupils must take advantage of every opportunity, fair or unfair, because good opportunities occur very infrequently at this school.
59. Pupils in this school are given considerable freedom in planning their own programs to meet their future needs.
60. Participation in students' union activities will assist one to become a good citizen.

APPENDIX H

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS IN THE STUDY SAMPLE BY SCHOOL,
AGE, GRADE, PROGRAM, AND SEX

TABLE XLI

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS IN THE STUDY SAMPLE

SCHOOL NO. 1

AGE	G R A D E												T		
	10				11				12						
	1*	M	D	T	M	D	T	M	D	T					
	2**	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M				
14															
15		2		4	4								10		
16			1	6	8		4	11	9				39		
17				1	3		3	8	10		1	7	8	33	
18								3			4	7	11	14	
19											2	4	6	6	
20												2	2	2	
21								1		1		1	1	2	
T		2		1	11	15		7	23	19		7	21		
T			3		26	29		7		42	49		28	28	106

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

SCHOOL NO. 3

AGE	G R A D E														T	
	10					11					12					
	1*	M		D	T	M	D		T	M	D		T			
	2**	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M			
14		3		1		4									4	
15		9	13	8	7	37	3				3				40	
16		5		3	6	14	12	6	11	9	38	4	1		57	
17				2	2	4	4	3	7	5	19	8	9	3	49	
18									1	1	2	1	2	5	16	
19										1	1				1	
20										2	2				2	
21																
T		17	13	14	15		19	9	19	18		13	12	8		
T			30		29	59		28		37	65		25		20 45 169	

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

SCHOOL NO. 4

AGE	G R A D E														T		
	10					11					12						
	1*	M		D	T	M	D		T	M	D		T				
	2**	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M				
14			1	1		2									2		
15		7	8	15		30	1			1	2				32		
16		5	4	8		17	6	6	5	4	21				38		
17			1	4		5	1	5	5	1	12	6	8	8	41		
18									2		2	5	7	2	18		
19												1	1		2		
20																	
21																	
T		12	14	28			8	11	12	6		12	16	10	4		
T			26		28	54		19		18	37		28		14	42	133

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

SCHOOL NO. 5

AGE	G R A D E														T		
	10					11					12						
	1*	M		D	T	M		D	T	M		D	T				
	2**	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M				
14		1			1	2		1		1				3			
15		2	16		14	32		14		14				46			
16		1	3		2	6	1	2	1	11	15	1		22			
17							2			8	10	7	6	4	11	28	38
18									1	1	2	2	5	3	4	14	16
19															2	2	2
20																	
21																	
T		4	19	14	17	14	3	17	2	20		10	11	7	17		14
T			23		31	54		20		22	42		21		24	45	141

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

SCHOOL NO. 6

AGE	G R A D E															T		
	10					11					12							
	$\frac{1*}{2**}$	M		D	T	M		D	T	M		D	T					
	F	M	F	M		F	M	F	M		F	M	F	M				
14																		
15		5	6	5	7	23		1		1						24		
16		3	2	3	6	14	4	4	4	7	19					33		
17				1	1	2	1	3	2	2	8	3	7	6	3	19	29	
18									1		1	2	2	6	2	12	13	
19																		
20																		
21																		
T		8	8	9	14		5	8	7	9		5	9	12	5			
T			16		23	39			13		16	29		14		17	31	99

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

SCHOOL NO. 11

AGE	G R A D E															T
	10					11					12					
	1*	M		D	T	M		D	T	M		D	T			
	2**	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M			
14		1	1	1	3										3	
15		5	9	8	7 29	1			1						30	
16			3	5	2 10	19	12	3	1 35	1	1	1		3	48	
17					1 1	3	3	3	8 17	6	4	10		5 25	43	
18									4 4	4	6	4		7 21	25	
19									1 1	1	1	2		5 9	10	
20									1 1						1	
21									1 1						1	
T		6	13	14	10	23	15	6	16	12	12	17	17			
T			19		24 43		38		22 60		24		34 58	161		

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

SCHOOL NO. 12

AGE	G R A D E															T	
	10					11					12						
	1*	M		D	T	M		D	T	M		D	T				
	2**	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M				
14				1	1										1		
15			6	9	1	16	2	1		3					19		
16		3	8	3	3	17	18	3	7	28		1		1	2	47	
17		1	2	2	3	8	9	3	19	1	32	3	14	6	4	27	67
18		1	1			2		1	2		3		14	2	9	25	30
19								1		1			2		1	3	4
20																	
T		5	17	15	7		29	9	28	1		3	31	8	15		
T			22		22	44		38		29	67		34		23	58	168

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

SCHOOL NO. 14

AGE	G R A D E														T	
	10					11					12					
	1* 2**	M	F	D	T	M	F	D	T	M	F	D	T			
	F	M	F	M		F	M	F	M		F	M	F	M		
14																
15	22	14	5	1	42	2	2			4					46	
16	6	8	1	1	16	11	17	3	1	32	2	2		4	52	
17		2			2	6	7	4	1	18	22	17		1	40	60
18						2	1			3	8	4		2	14	17
19																
20											1				1	1
21																
T	28	24	6	2		21	27	7	2		32	24		3		
T		52		8	60		48	9		57		56		3	59	176

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

SCHOOL NO. 15

AGE	G R A D E															T
	10					11					12					
	1*	M		D	T	M		D	T	M		D		T		
	2**	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M			
14																
15		7	7	2	5	21		1		1					22	
16		3	17	1	5	26	13	5	3	21		1		1	48	
17			5		3	8	5	5	4	14	15	10	5	1	31	
18								1		1	5	4	5	5	19	
19													2	1	3	
20																
21																
T		10	29	3	13		18		12	7		20	14	13	7	
T			39		16	55		18		19	37		34		20	
														54	146	

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

SCHOOL NO. 17

AGE	G R A D E														T	
	10					11					12					
	1*	M		D	T	M		D	T	M		D	T			
	2**	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M			
14		4	3		7									7		
15		18	17		35	2	1		3					38		
16		5	4		9	16	22		38	2	5		7	54		
17			1		1	9	8		17	12	18		30	48		
18							2		2	3	2		5	7		
19							1		1					1		
20																
21						1			1		1		1	2		
T		27	25			28	34			17	26					
T			52		52		62		62		43		43	157		

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

SCHOOL NO. 18

AGE	G R A D E														T
	10				11				12						
	1*	M	D	T	M	D	T	M	D	T					
	2**	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M				
14	1			1										1	
15	11	11	1	23		1	1							24	
16	8	5		1 14	5	6	2	2	15					29	
17	4			2 6	6	5	11	4	26	4	13	5	2 24	56	
18						2		4	6	1	9	3	4 17	23	
19						1		1	2		1		7 8	10	
20													3 3	3	
21															
T	24	16	1	3	11	14	14	11		5	23	8	16		
T		40		4 44		25		25	50		28		24 52	146	

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

SCHOOL NO. 19

AGE	G R A D E														T		
	10					11					12						
	1*	M		D	T	M		D	T	M		D	T				
	2**	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M				
14		1			1									1			
15		5	18		5	28	1	3		4				32			
16		3	7	1	7	18	9	9	5	5	18	1		47			
17				1	3	4	4	6	6	3	19	12	8	12	3	35	58
18							1		2	1	4	2	7	6	3	18	22
19														1		1	1
20															1	1	1
21																	
T		9	25	2	15		15	18	13	9		14	16	19	7		
T			34		17	51		33		22	55		30		26	56	162

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

TABLE XLII

SUMMARY TABLE FOR ALL SCHOOLS: DISTRIBUTION
OF PUPILS IN STUDY SAMPLE

AGE	G R A D E															T	
	1*	10					11					12					
		2**	M		D	T	M		D	T	M		D	T			
			F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M			
14		11	5	4	1	21		1		1						22	
15		93	125	57	51	326	12	22	2	1	37					363	
16		42	62	31	41	176	114	91	57	52	314	10	11	2	1	24	514
17		5	11	11	18	45	50	46	70	47	213	98	114	60	45	317	575
18		1	1			2	3	6	13	11	33	33	62	40	51	186	221
19								3		3	6	2	5	7	20	34	40
20										3	3		1		6	7	10
21							1		1	1	3		1		1	2	5
T		152	204	103	111		180	169	143	118		143	194	109	124		
T			356	+14	228			349		261			337		233		+14
						584					610				570		
																	1764

* - M-Matriculation; D-Diploma; T-Total.

**- F-Female; M-Male.

APPENDIX I

NUMBER OF PUPILS AND VARIANCES OF PUPIL ALIENATION SUBSCALE AND TOTAL SCALE SCORES

School Numbers	Number of Pupils in Sample	Variances					
		Powerless-ness	Self-Estrangement	Norm-lessness	Meaninglessness	Isolation	Total
1	106	71.718	43.277	50.268	45.850	12.811	452.781
3	169	80.301	58.420	50.086	36.256	16.125	551.870
4	133	69.275	52.174	46.417	47.883	13.158	511.604
5	141	56.008	46.377	42.987	43.724	13.564	439.528
6	99	61.368	32.577	55.674	38.798	13.354	450.122
11	161	60.994	39.918	62.688	35.824	9.359	437.521
12	168	78.685	54.279	63.224	45.748	13.293	540.171
14	176	77.452	53.372	64.023	40.623	12.682	503.897
15	146	57.486	46.495	54.407	38.931	10.348	460.071
17	157	57.834	43.443	51.440	38.005	14.747	451.772
18	146	57.486	48.651	49.550	39.462	11.301	488.817
19	162	81.164	51.058	64.583	57.939	14.648	597.516

APPENDIX J

SUMMARY OF SCHOOL BUREAUCRACY DATA

(K=20, N=403)

School Number	Number of Respondents	Authority		Expertise	
		Mean Score	Variance	Mean	Variance
1	15	82.467	185.695	46.200	66.171
2	14	84.857	269.670	49.286	29.758
3	13	77.538	238.103	51.615	64.756
4	19	88.737	227.094	52.368	104.468
5	12	81.667	195.515	55.833	29.606
6	14	94.071	282.533	48.714	90.835
7	29	81.517	154.330	52.138	39.766
8	23	83.739	184.474	50.000	27.455
9	26	84.923	342.874	50.231	42.585
10	28	83.286	84.730	49.286	41.989
11	23	84.826	123.150	49.565	71.530
12	15	91.000	179.143	55.200	41.029
13	16	77.438	149.329	53.875	30.383
14	25	80.560	167.923	57.400	54.000
15	25	77.920	110.160	55.480	51.677
16	25	81.400	268.583	52.720	40.210
17	20	69.650	171.187	52.200	50.800
18	19	91.895	165.988	47.632	26.246
19	18	71.833	247.088	54.000	47.176
20	24	76.167	205.101	53.292	65.781

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